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THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

RUFUS KING

VOLUME II.

1795-1799

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*your affectionate mother*

*Mary King*



*Mrs. Rufus King*

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THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE  
OF  
RUFUS KING

COMPRISING HIS LETTERS, PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL  
HIS PUBLIC DOCUMENTS AND  
HIS SPEECHES

EDITED BY HIS GRANDSON  
CHARLES R. KING, M.D.

FELLOW OF THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS, PHILADELPHIA, AND  
MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK AND PENNSYLVANIA  
HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

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## PREFACE TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

The period embraced in this second volume covers the closing years of the senatorial career of Mr. King, before his transfer to the position of Minister Plenipotentiary and Ambassador to the Court of St. James, and the following three years in that capacity; the matter in the third volume extending to the close of the mission in 1803.

The history of the United States during the second term of Washington's administration is full of events which tested the adaptability of the constitution to meet the new questions both domestic and foreign which necessarily arose under its untried provisions. Happily the general policy, which has received the name of federal, prevailed, and the basis of government was firmly founded. Mr. King was largely instrumental in framing and sustaining these measures adopted, as the records clearly show; yet it is much to be regretted that there are many gaps in his private papers, the filling of which might have thrown strong light upon the interesting questions of the day. All, however, that the papers in the possession of the Editor contain as contemporary history is here presented.

In reference to the correspondence in the second portion of the volume, during the years of Mr. King's residence in England, it is proper that some explanation should be made. It will be observed that many letters, which have already been given to the public in the lives of some of the distinguished contemporaries of Mr. King, are here republished in order to show the bearing and illustrate the meaning of the letters now first presented. Indeed without them the continuity of the narrative would lack much of interest. In all

these cases, and especially in the letters to and from Hamilton, the source from which they have been taken is noted, and where no such reference is made the originals or copies of them are in the possession of the Editor, and are reproduced verbatim, except where relating to matters of no interest to the public. The letters of Pickering, Cabot, Troup, Bingham, and many others, relative to the domestic affairs of the United States and containing their estimate of foreign affairs, are very full and served to keep Mr. King informed of the current opinion and business of the country, helping him in his ministerial work and receiving, in his answers, the effect they produced upon the mind of one deeply interested, but away from their immediate influence at home.

But perhaps not less interesting is his official correspondence with the British Government, and with his personal friend Timothy Pickering, both in the latter's private capacity and as Secretary of State. Pickering's letters are contained in a separate volume, copied from the official dispatches, of which the originals are probably in the Archives of the Legation in England; while official communications from Mr. King are preserved in press copies of all his letters, which are all in his own handwriting, carefully arranged in five large folio volumes of about 2000 pages; his letters in cipher deciphered. Of course this correspondence, which extends over seven years—to the end of the next volume,—could not all be reproduced here. Many of the letters relate merely to current matters of detail and, though making part of the history of official acts, are not essential to their elucidation. Nor is there given an unbroken series of letters to and from the Secretary of State, but such selections from them as would show the contemporary diplomatic history as it presented itself to the observation of the intelligent, clear-headed, and careful man, who had the interest of his country always at heart and desired to gain for it every advantage that his position could enable him to obtain.

Conscious of the confidence in his ability and integrity of both his Government at home and of the King's Ministers, he met the various questions which, under the daily changing politics of Europe, presented the necessity of prompt decision, with firmness and courteous discussion, but always, when possible to do so, under the special instructions given to him. Sometimes, as will be seen, he could not wait for these, because of the difficulty of communicating by sailing vessels with his Government; but in no case did his action meet with disapprobation at home, or fail to obtain the respectful consideration of the Government to which he was accredited.

Several Appendices have been added to this volume, the first of which contains, as will be seen, a number of letters from Mr. King, during the first years of his public life, but which came into the Editor's possession after the publication of the first volume. Others are reports of conferences with Lord Grenville, one in particular in reference to the difficulties which arose in the Commission under the seventh article of the Treaty with Great Britain, and which were satisfactorily solved. It has been deemed well to collect in separate and consecutive narratives the incidents which led to the action of Mr. King to protest against the avowed purpose of the British Government to allow the captured chiefs of the rebellion in Ireland to emigrate to the United States, and those relative to the proposed plans, by which, in connection with Miranda, the South American colonies of Spain were to be revolutionized and made independent of the mother country—plans that depended upon a co-operation of England and the United States, but which were not carried out.



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# THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF RUFUS KING.

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## CHAPTER I.

**Mr. King's Re-election to the Senate—Settlement of the System of public Credit—Mr. Hamilton's Retirement and R. King's Opinion of it—Hamilton's earnest Letter relative to non-subscribing Creditors—Mr. Jay's Nomination for Governor of New York.**

The term for which Mr. King had been chosen Senator of the United States from New York would expire on March 4, 1795, and a strong effort was made by the friends of Mr. Clinton to prevent his re-election. Notwithstanding this, he was on January 27th again appointed to the position by a "majority of six in one House and one in the other."

The Congress which was then sitting was engaged in an earnest endeavor to provide for the gradual redemption of the funded debt, in accordance with the general system of finance, which had been recommended by Alexander Hamilton and which he had in his reports sustained by most cogent reasoning. The result was that the entire management of the public debt was vested in the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, with an appropriation, in addition to the resources already assigned, of the proceeds of certain temporary taxes, which would enable them to pay with regularity the accruing interest and gradually to extinguish the principal of the debt.

In the original plan there were clauses providing for the creditors who had not before subscribed, which, in the House, were stricken out, one of the objections to it being that under its terms the non-subscribing creditors would be better off than those who had availed themselves of the original arrangement. Though it was answered that this would not be the case, and other reasons were given why the clauses making special provisions should be maintained, it was decided to strike them out. Mr. Hamilton, who had resigned from the office of Secretary of the Treasury before this time, was greatly moved by this action and expressed his disappointment in his letter to Mr. King of February 21st.

It is to the settlement of the financial affairs of the government and thus placing the public credit on the firmest foundation that Mr. King alludes in his letter to Mr. Gore of February 14th; a letter which gives his opinion of the loss the country had sustained by the retirement of a "great and virtuous minister" from the public affairs of the country, and of his hope that his successor (Mr. Oliver Wolcott) "may emulate his predecessor's example." \*

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EGBERT BENSON TO R. KING, PHILA.

"POUGHKEEPSIE, Jany. 15th, 1795.

". . . The 27th inst. is the day *big with the Fate*. Some of the Gentry have supposed it would be most advisable to re-elect Schuyler, otherwise both the Senators will continue to be from the *Southern* part of the State. You may suppose they do not know what to say, and that they have not determined what to do, when they come forward with such stuff. Mark the Expres-

\* Hildreth happily says (*Hist. of United States*, 2d ser., i., p. 538): "During his [Hamilton's] six years of public service he had placed the fiscal concerns of the United States on a solid foundation—that, indeed, upon which they have ever since rested. The investigations into his conduct, dictated by the suspicions of his enemies, had resulted altogether to his advantage. His whole scheme being now complete, and his official integrity thoroughly vindicated, he could safely leave to the administration of others that system which his genius had organized."

sion of the Message, '*alarming* aspect of public affairs,' '*daring* claims,' '*children of the opulent*'—what a delectable Rascal he is! Was there ever such cursed nonsense as what he says about our System of Jurisprudence being implicitly borrowed &c.?"

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J. O. HOFFMAN TO R. KING, PHILA.

26th Jany., 1795.

Our opponents spare no pains to defeat the success of your re-appointment. They have at length partly agreed on Mr. Jones; but at a meeting this evening, for the purpose of counteracting their measures, he declared his entire disapprobation of the plan. They expected something from the change of the Scene; but as yet they have made no impression and, I believe, instead of losing we daily gain ground.

It has been judged prudent to postpone all arrangements relative to Mr. Jay, untill after Tuesday. A visit from you might after that time, be attended with the most salutary effects. Burr's friends now declare that Watts, Gilbert & Van Gaasbeck are in his favor. With esteem

J. O. HOFFMAN.

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ROB. TROUP TO R. KING, PHILA.

27th Jany., 1795.

DEAR SIR:

I sincerely congratulate you upon your re-election—by a majority of six—five in one house and one in the other. Tillotson was your antagonist. . . .

Very sincerely,

ROB. TROUP.

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C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, Jany. 29th, 1795.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

On Monday a vessel arrived at Cape Ann from Ramsgate in England . . . I have seen a letter for Mr. Sears, it is from Mr. Dickason, & says the commercial treaty between the U. S. and G. B. is signed and printed in the Gazette. American stocks rose in consequence of this event . . . Now

nothing being said of the state of the belligerent powers at that time, it is probable their situation was not altered materially since our last advices.

Yours affectionately,

C. GORE.

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N. GORHAM TO R. KING, PHILA.

BOSTON, Feby. 5, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR :

I most sincerely congratulate you upon your re-election & I can assure you that the true Federalists think it a very happy circumstance for the country. I am very much afraid we shall not be able to get Mr. Dexter elected again. . . .

Your friend,

NATH. GORHAM.

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C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, Feby. 9, 1795.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

. . . A letter from the Hague and published this day in the Orrery, informs that La Fayette has been again taken and reconducted to prison. This news we fear is authentic. It is said the letter is from Mr. Adams.

Affectionately yours,

C. GORE.

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R. KING TO C. GORE.

PHILA. Feb. 14th, 1795.

The Treaty has not yet arrived, and we are very impatient to receive it before Congress adjourns. Hamilton's last Report exceeds my Frank or I would send you a copy, probably however you will have received one—the Resolutions that have been brought forward in pursuance of it, have been adopted with some immaterial variations by the House of Representatives, & there is a fair Prospect that the Finances will be arranged conformable to his views.

We lose a Great and Virtuous Minister in the retirement of this Gentleman ; his successor\* is a good man—possesses firmness, industry, integrity, and sound Talents with a disposition to emulate his Predecessor's Example.

I am mortified that Dexter has not succeeded ; should he from disgust decline, or should he finally fail it would, believe me, be the subject of serious & deep regret to the friends of the Government, for without depreciating the talents of any those of Mr. Dexter class him among the men of the very first order of Abilities in our Country.

His re-election is worthy of great Effort, the want of which alone, it would seem to me, will defeat his Choice.

You will have learnt that I have been re-elected ; in one view I am gratified ; but without affectation I can say to you, that I am wearied with this kind of life, which has nothing new to afford me, and which demands of me sacrifices that I become daily more and more unwilling to make.

Pennsylvania & North Carolina have yet to make their Senatorial Elections, the former will probably do well, & there is no reason to despair of the latter ; in any event the Senate will stand better after March than at present.

Farewell—Yrs sincerely

R. KING.

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A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.

KINGSTON, Feb. 21, 1795.

MY DEAR KING :

The unnecessary, capricious & abominable assassination of the National honor by the rejection of the propositions respecting the unsubscribed debt, in the House of Representatives, haunts me every step I take and afflicts me more than I can express. To see the character of the Government & the Country so sported with, exposed to so indelible a blot, puts my heart to the Torture. Am I then more of an American than those who drew their first breath on American Ground ? Or what is it that thus torments me at a

\* Oliver Wolcott.

circumstance so calmly viewed by almost every body else? Am I a fool—a Romantic Quixot—or is there a constitutional defect in the American mind? Were it not for yourself and a few others, I could adopt the reveries of De Paux as substantial truths, & would say with him that there is something in our climate which belittles every animal, human or brute.

I conjure you, my friend, make a vigorous stand for the honor of your country. Rouse all the energies of your mind, and measure swords in the Senate with the great Slayer of public faith, the hacknied *Veteran* in the *violation* of public engagements. Prevent him from triumphing a second time over the prostrate Credit\* and injured interests of his Country. Unmask his false and horrid hypothesis. Display the immense difference between an able statesman and the *Man of Subtilties*. Root out the dis-tempered and noisome weed, which is attempted to be planted in our political garden, to choak and wither in its infancy the fair plant of public credit.

I disclose to you without reserve the state of my mind. It is discontented & gloomy in the extreme. I consider the cause of good government as having been put to an issue & the Verdict against it. Introduce I pray you into the Senate, when the bill comes up, the clause which has been rejected, freed from embarrassments by the bills of credit bearing interest on the nominal value. Press its adoption in this the most unexceptionable shape & let the *yeas & nays* witness the result. Among other reasons for this is my wish that the true friends of public Credit may be distinguished from its enemies. The question is too great a one not to undergo a thorough examination before the community. It would pain me not to be able to distinguish. Adieu.

God bless you

A. HAMILTON.

Do me the favour to revise carefully the course of the bill, respecting the unsubscribed Debt, & let me know the particulars. I wish to be able to judge more particularly of the underplot I suspect.

\* Witness the 40 for 1 scheme, a most unskilful measure to say the best of it.

## A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.

N. YORK, Feby. 26, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR :

I have received your letter with the printed Bills. The new clause is an additional bad feature. Yet 't is better the thing should pass as it is than not at all. Every thing should be gained that can be.

So : It seems that under the present administration of the Department, Hillhouse & Goodhue are to be the Ministers in the House of Representatives and Ellsworth & Strong in the Senate. Fine work we shall have. But I swear the nation shall not be dishonored with impunity.

Yrs. Affect'ly,

A. HAMILTON.

## PETER VAN GAASBECK TO RUFUS KING.

KINGSTON, 18th March, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . The people here wish farther satisfaction as to Mr. Jay's Return. Give me all by Billy (Wm. Marius Green) ; as I said in my former the great majority of the Committee who have nominated Mr. Burr, if he is no candidate, will unquestionably and very powerfully support Mr. Jay—thus as it is very probable that Mr. Burr will not stand a Candidate, every elucidation respecting Mr. Jay's Return will be of singular advantage. . . .

Yr. most obedt. Servt. &amp; Sincere Friend,

PETER VAN GAASBECK.

## O. WOLCOTT TO R. KING.

PHILA., March 23rd, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR :

I have rec'd your favour of the 19th instant—on enquiry I find Mr. Blaney has left town, I cannot therefore ascertain the truth of the declaration attributed to him : the following circumstance however proves to my satisfaction, that the declaration it made has been misunderstood or perverted to impress a wrong idea.

On the 19th of Nov. Mr. Jay in a letter *requested that he might have the earliest advice of the ratification; that he might be enabled to finish whatever might be expected of him in season to return in one of the first spring vessels. At the same time he suggested that if his health had been competent to a winter voyage he should have been himself the bearer of the Treaty.*

The truth doubtless is, that Mr. Jay finding his health unequal to the severities of a voyage in winter, concluded to tarry until Spring, and of course might reasonably expect the ratification before his departure from England. There is however nothing in *his* Letters, and nothing as I believe on good grounds, in any Letters which have been written from *this Country* which can countenance an opinion, that Mr. Jay will *wait* for the ratification—The contrary is firmly believed here.

I am with perfect respect

Dear Sir your obed. serv.,

OLIVER WOLCOTT.

## CHAPTER II.

Jay's Treaty received—The Senate called to consider it—Mr. King's Resolution to ratify it—Ratification with Protest against Article twelve recommended—"Camillus Letters" by Hamilton and King—After much Delay the President signed the Treaty—Randolph's Correspondence with Fauchet, the French Ambassador—His Resignation of Office of Secretary of State—The President suggests Mr. King as his Successor—He declines—Letters of Hamilton, King, and Randolph relative to the Treaty—Delay of Ratification caused Dissatisfaction—Public Meetings opposed to it; G. Cabot and C. Gore relative to these—R. King's Letter announcing Ratification.

The treaty which had been negotiated by Mr. Jay with Great Britain late in 1794 was received by the Secretary of State on March 7, 1795, and the Senate was called by the President to meet on June 8th, to consider matters touching the public good. They accordingly convened on that day, and the President laid before them "the Treaty and other documents connected with it," asking them "to decide whether they will advise and consent that the said Treaty be made."

As a preliminary step the Senate passed a resolution imposing secrecy upon the communication until further order of the Senate. An ineffectual effort was made to rescind this resolution, and after consideration of the different articles a motion was made, it is said by Mr. King, on June 17th to consent and advise the President to ratify the treaty "on condition that there be added to the said Treaty an article whereby it shall be agreed to suspend the operation of so much of the twelfth article" as relates to trade with the West Indies, "and at the same time recommending to the

President to proceed, without delay, to further friendly negotiations" on the subject of the said trade.

Mr. Burr, on the 22d, moved to postpone this motion, to adopt a series of resolutions he offered to effect certain alterations in the treaty in the several particulars they suggested. His resolution was rejected next day by a vote of 20 to 10, and on the 24th, after an attempt, for reasons given, to pass a resolution to refuse consent, that portion of the original proposition, advising the ratification of the treaty, was passed by 20 to 10, and the other portion, advising a renewal of negotiations, by an unanimous vote. Mr. King voted in both cases in the affirmative. It is well known that he made an earnest plea for the ratification of the treaty, but nothing can be found among his papers to indicate even the heads of the speech. His views, however, are fully presented in the letters of Camillus written by him.

On the 26th, the injunction of secrecy was rescinded, with a proviso, however, "that it be nevertheless enjoined upon the Senators not to authorize or allow any copy of the said communications, or of any article thereof."

The President delayed for some time appending his signature to the treaty as explained hereafter, and the public became very anxious to know the particulars of the document, whose ratification had been recommended. In consequence of the secrecy,

"statements as to the contents had begun to appear, accompanied by very malignant comments. In order to prevent hasty conclusions, founded on partial views, and wishing to hear the opinions of the people, Washington directed the whole treaty to be published. But in this he had been anticipated. On the same day that this direction was given, a full abstract had appeared in the *Aurora*, followed, a few days after, by a perfect copy furnished by Mason on the Senate under his own name."\*

In the *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, vi., p. 223, occurs the following passage:

\* Hildreth, *Hist. of U. S.*, 2d ser., i., 546.

"To remove the prejudice this procedure [the publication of the treaty by Mason] excited, it was falsely charged that Rufus King had divulged the treaty by furnishing Hamilton with a copy. The charge was repelled by the Senator from New York, who stated that he had acted strictly within the limits of the injunction in having permitted a copy to be read ; but that no copy had been given ; a permission which had been freely exercised by other members of the Senate."

Every effort was made by the enemies of the treaty to poison the public mind against it. The newspapers were filled with articles to show how shamefully the interests of the country had been sacrificed to the dictation of Great Britain and to the injury of France. Among those who opposed it in this way was Brockholts Livingston, who had been most conspicuous in the public meeting in New York against the treaty. In certain articles signed "Decius" he attempted to show how injurious the treaty would be, and how disgraceful to the country. Mr. R. R. Livingston, as "Cato," wrote in the same strain. These were ably answered by Hamilton in a series of papers, signed "Camillus," papers so able and conclusive, that they were largely instrumental in checking the dissatisfaction which existed, and which was aggravated by the delay of the President in signing the treaty. The first of these articles was issued on the 22d of July, "four days after the public meeting where Hamilton was assailed with missiles."

In the *Life of Hamilton*, vi., p. 273, we find these paragraphs :

"The discussion of the first ten or permanent articles occupied twenty-two numbers of these essays. To the remaining or temporary articles twelve were devoted. The general views entertained by Hamilton as to the commercial features of this treaty have been seen in the letter\* addressed by him to the President. That letter contains the outline of 'Camillus.'

"It is perceived from a comparison of it with the first twenty-

\* July 6, *Life of Hamilton*, vi., 229.

two numbers, the original drafts of which are in Hamilton's autograph, that they were exclusively his. Of the remaining essays, ten, Nos. 23 to 30, both included, 34 and 35, were from another pen, with frequent alterations, interlineations and additions by Hamilton. The residue of the numbers, being six, are also Hamilton's exclusively. It has been stated that his letter to the President contained the outline of these numbers on the commercial features of the treaty, but it should be observed that the views were much extended in the 'Camillus' letters; that, when the objections to the treaty are admitted, the defensive observations as to Jay, which had been previously presented by him to the President, are interlined in Hamilton's autograph, and that great anxiety is evinced by him, lest the positions taken should mean more than he felt was warranted by just inductions. As he had urged the mission of Jay, he felt the more anxious to guard him from censure."

Mr. J. C. Hamilton, in his *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, had stated in a note to the No. xxiii. Camillus letter, that "this and the seven succeeding numbers are from the pen of Rufus King, excepting parts within brackets, which are in Hamilton's hand.—Ed." He claims here that xxxiv. and xxxv. were written by Hamilton, for he makes no note about them. It so happens that manuscript copies of these are in the present editor's possession.

In his *Life of Hamilton*, written some twenty years later in vol. vi., p. 273, he says that the above numbered essays and in addition "34 and 35 are from another pen [without mentioning whose.—Ed.] with frequent alterations, interlineations and additions by Hamilton." It may be mentioned, that all these alterations, etc., amount to about two or three pages in one hundred.\*

Though in the *Works*, Mr. Hamilton mentions the name of Rufus King as that of one of the writers of these letters,

\* The length of these letters, which occupy 104 pages of the *Works of Hamilton*, vol. vii., pp. 378-468, and 487-501, has decided the Editor to omit them and to refer those who desire to read them and to examine the able and clear presentation of the points discussed, to the above named publication.—ED.

it is not a little strange that he should have *forgotten* to state in the *Life*, even in a note, that the "other pen" was Rufus King's, the warm, confidential, and trusted friend of his father to the end of his life. Though we are indebted to Mr. Hamilton for the first positive published evidence that Mr. King was the co-laborer in writing them, we find in a letter of John Adams to his wife January 31, 1796,\* the following statement :

"I have a secret to communicate to your prudence. The defence by Camillus was written in concert between Hamilton, King and Jay. The writings on the first ten articles of the treaty were written by Hamilton ; the rest by King till they come to the question of the constitutionality of the treaty, which was discussed by Hamilton. Jay was also to have written a concluding peroration ; but being always a little lazy and perhaps concluding that it might be most politic to keep his name out of it, and perhaps finding that the work was already well done, he neglected it. This I have from King's own mouth. It is to pass, however, for Hamilton's. All three consulted together upon most, if not all the pieces."

In addition to these, the existence of manuscript drafts of several of the letters among the papers of Mr. King, and the following extract from a letter of Mr. King himself to Mr. William Coleman, February, 1817, are authoritative evidences that he contributed some of them :

"Of the papers under the signature of Camillus, those relative to the permanent, or ten first Articles of Mr. Jay's Treaty were written by Hamilton, those relative to the commercial and maritime articles were written by me. The critical examination of these articles, in relation to navigation & trade, as well as to the Laws and Treaties of Nations, has been of great advantage to me thro' life. Principles were established and Usages and Regulations discovered relative to maritime and commercial Law which have given to me greater confidence in acting and deciding on these intricate matters than I feel on almost any other subject."

\* *Life and Works*, i., 485, pub. 1856.

## A. HAMILTON TO R. KING, NEW YORK.

June 11, 1795.

DEAR SIR :

I thank you for your letter of the 10th. The case has been with me as with you. Reflection has not mitigated the exceptionable point. Yet it will be to be lamented if no mode can be devised to save the main object and close the irritable questions which are provided for. Every thing besides an absolute and simple ratification will put something in jeopardy. But, while on the one hand I think it advisable to hazard as little as possible, on the other I should be willing to hazard something and unwilling to see a very objectionable principle put into activity.

It is to be observed that no time is fixed for the ratification of the Treaty. It may then be ratified with a collateral instruction to make a declaration that the U. States consider the article in question aggregately taken as intended by the King of G. B. as a privilege ; that they conceive it for their interest to forbear the exercise of that privilege with the condition annexed to it, till an explanation in order to a new modification of it shall place it on a more acceptable footing, or *till an article to be sent to our Minister, containing that modification, shall be agreed upon between him & the British Court as a part of the Treaty* ; the ratification not to be exchanged without further instruction from this country unless accepted in this sense & with this qualification.

This course appears to me preferable to sending back the Treaty, to open the negotiation anew, because it may save time on the points most interesting to us, & I do not see that if the ratifications be exchanged with this saving there can be any doubt of the matter operating as intended.

Adieu, Yrs. Truly

A. HAMILTON.

A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.

MY DEAR SIR :

NEW YORK, June 20, 1795.

A considerable alarm has been spread this morning by a report that the Treaty has been disagreed to. I have assured those I have seen that I was convinced any rumour of a decision must be

premature. The anxiety however about the result is extreme. The common opinion among men of business of all descriptions is that a disagreement to the Treaty would greatly shock and stagnate pecuniary plans and operations in general. This is not a small source of disquietude ; others who are likely to be affected in that sense (and among these myself) look forward to the result with great solicitude as fixing or endangering the stability of our present beneficial and desirable situation.

My influence in seconding the wishes of our friend General Gunn is, I fear, overated. Unwilling to raise expectations, which may not be realized, I will only say, that it will give me real pleasure to be able to promote his accommodation or advantage ; as my opinion entirely coincides with yours. In the mean time, I will, as far as circumstances will permit, have an eye to the affair.

Yrs. affectionately

A. HAMILTON.

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EDM. RANDOLPH TO R. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, July 6, 1795.

DEAR SIR :

My indisposition has prevented an earlier answer to your favour of the 1st instant.

Before the co-agency of Mr. Bache and a Senator had violated the injunctions of secrecy, I was impressed with your ideas, and caused Brown to publish a memorandum, that on Wednesday the treaty would appear. This day was named, because I could not sooner recover the only copy in my powers which I had put into the hands of Mr. Adet, upon his expressing some vague inquietudes.

I have since received his objections, feeble in themselves, and more feebly urged. They are these three simple things. 1. that we have *granted* to G. B., the liberty of seizing contraband beyond what was agreed between us and France. 2. that we have annulled the 17th Article of the French treaty ; and 3 that we have incapacitated ourselves from forming a new commercial treaty with France by the last clause of the 25th article in that with England. An answer is prepared, which is satisfactory to the President.

The 8th article will be attended to the moment after the President shall give his final instruction on the treaty. With great respect

Yr. mo. Ob Servt.

EDM. RANDOLPH.

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R. KING TO C. GORE.

N. YORK, 24 July, 1795.

I thank you for your letter and am pleased to learn that a counter-current is appearing on the subject of the treaty. From the Resentment and past defeats of our Jacobins, it was natural to expect a very considerable effort on this occasion. They had concerted their plans, & by manifesting a noisy opposition in the large Towns at the same Time, they expected to surprize and gain the public opinion. Industry and arts will continue to be employed for this purpose, and you are right in saying that the moment demands all the Patience and Firmness of virtuous men to bear up against the torrent.

You will have seen the progress and result at the meeting in this City. The invitation was to condemn, the Friends of order were requested to attend for the purpose of discussion, but the noise and confusion which prevailed, precluded all Examination and the first meeting separated without any regular Decision on any subject. The meeting that succeeded on Monday was *ex parte*, the friends of a fair Discussion having declined to attend, and the Resolutions which they adopted it is said were similar to those of Boston. The merchants who are here an incorporated Chamber, summoned a meeting for Tuesday evening. The chamber was unusually full, the Treaty was the subject, which, after Discussion, they approved in Resolutions which they passed by a majority of 6 to 1.

It is much to be regretted that Boston gave the example of a Town meeting on this subject—had they remained silent, or had the schemes of Jarvis & others, on this occasion, as heretofore, been disappointed, we should have had no meeting here, and the country would have escaped that Fever into which it is likely to

be thrown. You must exert yourselves in procuring a right conception of the Treaty—if understood, it will not be disapproved. Will not your merchants take any step to counteract the Opinion that Boston has been unanimous in their Condemnation—be persuaded that tho' the thing is well understood with you, yet a counter-act, proceeding from your merchants would have a very considerable effect in this and other quarters of the Union.

Farewell yrs. sincerely,

R. KING.

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G. CABOT TO R. KING.

DEAR SIR :

BROOKLINE, 25 July, 1795.

Going into town yesterday for the first time since my return, I met your letter of the 13th \* & was greatly rejoiced to find that the insanity which is *epidemic* in this quarter is less prevalent with you. It would be consolatory to believe that among the crew of our political ship, the sound would always be sufficient to take care of the sick. But I have not this desirable faith.

The readiness and severity with which the Treaty has been condemned is a new proof that our government cannot rely for support even upon good men in cases of emergency : for these very generally acquiesced in the censure without any examination of the subject. It is true that they are now mortified at their indiscretion, & many of them will have the magnanimity to retread their steps ; but pride will probably prevent others from acknowledging they were wrong.

A number of gentlemen visited me soon after I arrived here and were easily satisfied that the ideas circulated respecting the Treaty were very incorrect. But they all united with me in sentiment that explanations wou'd be fruitless during the ferment which was extreme and universal—what was then foreseen has been since realized—men's minds had gone too far & when inclined to come back a little effort has been successful in greatly accelerating the reverberation.

With a view to ascertain the state of public opinion & to con-

\* It is to be regretted that this letter to Mr. Cabot cannot be recovered.

—ED.

tribute my mite towards forming it rightly in other parts of the State, I attended the commencement at Cambridge & was gratified to perceive that sensible and virtuous men from other quarters resented the proceedings of Boston, so that, *if I were to judge from the evidence of that day*, I shou'd pronounce that the sober sense of Massachusetts approves the Treaty.

Since that time a piece entitled "Candid Remarks on the Treaty" has been republished here from some of your papers, the effects of which are highly beneficial. Such a summary defence was well adapted to the moment, but I hope a more elaborate one will be produced at New York & handed along very soon.

Our mercantile men have learnt something more of our rights and the rights of the other nations than they knew formerly, but they have yet to learn that the commerce of the U. S. is not such as wou'd enable us to dictate the terms on which an intercourse is to be held with the nations of Europe.

Upon examining the East India Article, I don't see that our vessels are *prohibited the Coasting Trade* & I shou'd imagine they will enjoy it as usual until an explicit prohibition shall be declared by the British. The more I have examined the article the better it has appeared, & most men with whom I converse seem to agree that it is good. I have much more to say, but my Potatoes need hoeing & must not be neglected. . . .

Your faithful friend

G. CABOT.

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G. CABOT TO R. KING, N. YORK.

DEAR SIR :

BROOKLINE, July 27th, 1795.

Your favor of the 20th did not come to hand until this moment. It was not wholly unexpected that our mob shou'd inflame yours. All Society is full of combustible materials & a flame once lighted easily produces a general conflagration. It cannot be sufficiently regretted that some of our respectable men have on this occasion joined the Jacobins & very many of them acquiesced in their measures. They now see the pernicious tendency of their proceedings & a good portion of them already condemn them.

I believe it adds much to their mortification to reflect that ~~they~~

listened to the representations and observations of a man whose want of sense has been thought at Boston a security against his influence. After all no sufficient apology is offer'd for the conduct of men who have habitually supported order and now have arranged themselves with its enemies. Some of them indeed say that they were deceived by the accounts brought by Mr. Langdon, others by the mutilated abstract published which totally removed alienage, and many confess that they condemned the Treaty without knowing its merits.

You will perhaps hold me responsible for these excesses, but I decline being surety against the folly and nonsense of any men. If I had thought as ill of the citizens of Boston as their conduct respecting the Treaty wou'd now justify, or if I had realised that Mr. L. wou'd furnish sparks to inflame them, it is possible that a few hours conversation with some of them on the evening of my arrival might have retarded the rapidity of the current, tho' I don't think it cou'd have changed its course.

In justice to Dr. Eustis I ought to mention, as from his friend, that one of his motives for sharing in the agency was that of preventing greater mischief. This is laudable and sometimes expedient, but the services of our friends, when accompanied by improper concessions to our enemies are too costly to be profitable. You will see a sharp speech of Dexter's, which does him credit for its spirit & good sense, but it is introduced by admitting that the Treaty is "not so good as he hoped." I shall desire him to point out some of those good things, *which he had a right to hope for*, presuming that his hopes & even desires are regulated by reason.

I wish you wou'd inform me by return of post whether these popular tumults have produced any embarrassment to the President, & whether the Treaty with its accompaniments is gone.

Our good men here all presume that the President is too firm to be shaken, and therefore have the more willingly indulged themselves in supineness. I think, however, they wou'd rally and make a respectable effort if it were believed to be indispensable. In Salem & the other Seaports they are pretty steady, & in the country as yet I have not heard of the Treaty's being anywhere

unpopular, & every day furnishes new evidence that the old friends of order are re-uniting even at Boston.

It was observed here that your Jacobins were prudent to endeavour to knock out Hamilton's brains to reduce him to an equality with themselves; but I trembled at the first account which was related of that adventure & offer'd up an unfeigned prayer for his safety. I mean the silent prayer of an affectionate heart. . . .\*

Your faithful friend,

G. CABOT.

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G. CABOT TO R. KING, N. Y.

MY DEAR SIR :

BROOKLINE, Aug. 4, 1795.

The uncertainty you mention respecting the ratification of the Treaty by the President, renews my anxiety for the welfare of our Country. Altho' I have entertained some fears that the business was delayed, yet as no objections from the President had ever come to my knowledge, my hopes greatly preponderated. I shall seize this moment, while the proceeding of the President is unknown, to suggest to the Boston merchants the propriety of a manly declaration of their sentiments, but altho' I have reason to believe that the Treaty is now generally approved by them, yet so many of them had indiscreetly censured it, that it is doubtful how far they will incline formally to express their present opinions.

\* The allusions in these letters are to the public meetings held at first in Boston to denounce the treaty and to endeavor to influence the President to refuse his consent to the ratification, which the Senate had advised. The paragraph in Mr. Cabot's letter refers to a meeting called in New York by the enemies of the treaty to express their utter abhorrence of it. But its friends decided to attend the meeting that they might show that in the city other views, more representative of its sentiments, were held. At this meeting, Hamilton advised an adjournment, rather than that a hasty decision should be made, and the meeting became so disorderly that the friends of the treaty withdrew, but not before Hamilton had been struck in the head, but without serious injury, by a stone thrown from the excited crowd. In Philadelphia, Charleston, and other places also, meetings were held in which violent denunciations of the treaty were made to influence the action of the President. But all were ineffectual, for on August 14th the President after careful consideration signed it.

Pride is a powerful enemy in this case & combined with the natural reluctance which men feel at combating popular prejudices, may not be easily overcome; but be this as it may, you may be fully assured that the most respectable part of our community have become the advocates of the Treaty & are extending the opinion of its propriety every moment. I am told that the only article which is now unsatisfactory to any of the Federalists here is the 10th; which shows, I think, that they are hard pressed by their friends. Indeed it will not surprise me to find the Senate blamed for not accepting the entire instrument by some men who have lately censured every part. Such is the versatility of opinion. Although we have neither a Curtius nor a Camillus, yet the explanation given by Gore in the newspaper & those circulated by others in private conversations have so well aided the investigation of individuals, that the subject is pretty well understood and its friends increased in a corresponding degree. I am however very glad to see the systematic & able defence setting up in your city & shall take measures to extend its operation in this quarter.

I have too much respect for the character of the President to believe that he can be deterr'd from his duty by the clamor or menaces of these city-mobs, but still I agree with you, that their doings shou'd be counteracted by the *good people*, lest it shou'd be imagined that all are alike infected with the rage of disorganization.

Your sincere friend,

G. CABOT.

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C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, 7 August, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR :

A letter from Mr. Cabot to Mr. Higginson the day before yesterday informs that it is uncertain, whether the treaty is yet ratified. A few days past, I felt satisfied that things were coming right, that reason and reflection were assuming the lead and that we should very soon have a just idea of the treaty, and return to our old good humor with the government and with each other. The signers to the protest amount to more than 200, and include

almost every man of property and reputation ; and a great many who had expressed themselves with warmth on the subject of the treaty—some of the most bitter opponents,—had given up clamoring, avoided all conversation on the business and very publicly declared that if signed by the President, which they considered the fact, it ought to be submitted to, like other laws, and wou'd meet their cordial support. But shou'd it be generally known that the instrument is not yet ratified, that, with the furious heat of Charlestown, wou'd bring back all our fire. It would be felt that the President was taking part with a mob against his own government. Our opponents wou'd naturally reason, that if a little tumult produced such a delay, a more violent opposition wou'd be completely successful.

A chamber of commerce is called to meet this evening. It is expected the meeting will be large ; and the resolutions to be submitted approve in positive terms of the treaty. There is great reason to hope they will be adopted with unanimity. Pains are taking to induce Salem and Newburyport to express favorable sentiments of the treaty. Mr. Cabot is at the latter place, and will undoubtedly take every step to promote such measures. But after all, my friend, every thing depends on an idea that the President has ratified it, and no measures ought to be left un-essay'd to have the ratification compleat and dispatch'd to Europe immediately. That done, and publicly known to have been done, would place us again in quiet.

Yours affectionately,

C. GORE.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, 14th August, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR :

The paragraph in Webster's paper relative to the state of the treaty has given me inexplicable pain. Whether strictly right according to the rules of proceeding in such cases I cannot say ; but taking it on ground the least objectionable, there is an expence of time in making the negotiation prior to the President's signature, that may in itself be injurious. Tho' this is but of small consequence compared to the evils that result from the continued

and increased ferment which this delay produces. The evils are incalculable, unless we can calculate all the evils of a complete prostration of government, and of the unlimited and unrivalled power of the most malignant and licentious faction. The friends of government are disheartened and discouraged. They feel the humiliation of continual warfare for an administration which supports its opponents and disgraces its friends. This is the observation of the most respectable and steady advocates of order in Boston.

The many sober, but unreflecting, men who first joined with the opponents were endeavoring to return to their old friends : they had been ensnared ; they saw it, but many had not magnanimity enough to declare their conviction, without some good apology. They said if the President had ratified the treaty, there was an end of all opposition ; and you may be assured, that their zealous support of it as a law of the land, would in some degree have compensated for their former error. They now think, as the President has delay'd to ratify it (for whatever may be the motive of the Executive, it will be attributed either to dislike of the instrument, or the influence of the opponents), that their first start was right, that they were lucky in their opposition, and will now steadily adhere to their friends. Of all the critical situations in which the government has been placed, this is the most extreme. Prejudice against the English, love for the French, a false idea of our own strength and of that of Britain ; the character of the opponents in Charlestown, especially if Rutledge is appointed Chief Justice, together with the conclusions that will be drawn from the President's conduct, will require more strength and influence to oppose, than can be expected from the few firm friends to order which may be found in Massachusetts. I know of but one step that can arrest this mania, that affords any hope of supporting the government. An address from the President to the people of the United States, stating that he had ratified the treaty, or done what amounted to a ratification, provided G. B. acceded to the suspension as recommended by the Senate. This would allay the heat, unite the moderate men and those who are generally neutrals till questions are decided, and it would afford support to those who fight the battles of the government, in the distant parts of the

continent. It appears to me that this alone will save us from the most distressing convulsions. The events of Europe may humble the French influence here ; but at the same time, they would raise the pride of Britain, and if our Executive shews itself operated on by them, it is not unnatural she should then say, you have made your choice, and are welcome to abide by it—we will remain as we are.

Yours affectionately,

C. GORE.

Is it not possible for Col. Hamilton and yourself to induce the President to adopt some measure that would decidedly express his sentiments in favor of the treaty ? Be assured that in New England the word of the President would save the Govt. ; without it you may despair.

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G. CABOT TO R. KING.

BROOKLINE, Aug. 14, 1795.

DEAR SIR :

Since my last I have been at Newburyport, where the merchants are perfectly well united and have by this time probably made a formal declaration of their opinion. I understand that the only point on which they differ'd was the expediency of giving to the negotiator personal praise, & this was omitted entirely on the ground of avoiding present irritation.

The Boston Chamber of Commerce have held a meeting ; the number attending was as usual about 40 ; they were of the most respectable class, & with only a single dissentient approbated the Treaty & reprobated the attempts everywhere made to excite discontent and tumult among the People. Their proceedings, as well as those of Newburyport, are to be transmitted to the President. At Boston the members of the Chamber of Commerce who did not attend are to be invited to concur in writing & it is expected that  $\frac{3}{4}$ , including  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the real respectability will concur.

At Salem Mr. Derby, Gray & some others having consulted, declare it to be their opinion that  $\frac{3}{4}$  of their town wou'd vote to leave the business where the Constitution has placed it ; but they think it not best to make any movement,—because, they say, as no op-

position has been made among them they ought to be considered as unanimously favorable.

After all where is the boasted advantage of a representative system over the turbulent mobocracy of Athens, if the resort to popular meetings is necessary? Faction, & especially the Faction of great towns always the most powerful, will be too strong for our mild & feeble government.

The newspapers will inform you of the arrival of a vessel from Rochelle yesterday, the Captn. of which informs that he fell in with the British Fleet of 14 sail of the Line, which had combated 14 French & captured three: the action was off Bellisle & the English Capt. told our informant that the whole French fleet wou'd have been taken if night had not cover'd them.

Yours truly,

G. CABOT.

Mr. Burr arrived in Boston the day before yesterday & visited me in the afternoon. I have return'd his visit but did not find him at home. He told me he had scarcely thought 10 minutes on political subjects since the Senate rose.

The letters which have been presented show the great anxiety and even alarm consequent upon the delay of action by the President, and the open expression of discontent and disapproval of the treaty itself by those who were the partisans of France and opponents of the general course of the administration. The President had gone to Mount Vernon, and gave no intimation of his intention respecting the ratification of the treaty, as advised by the Senate. Even his trusted friends had no inkling of the course he would adopt. Moved by the alarming demonstration, Washington decided to return to Philadelphia, but delaying a few days, his departure from home was hastened by a summons from some of the members of the Cabinet in consequence of a most unexpected occurrence, the receipt of a despatch No. 10, October, 1794, from M. Fauchet, the French Minister to his government, which was found in a

vessel captured by a British cruiser, and communicated, through Mr. Hammond, the British Minister, to whom it had been transmitted by his government, to Mr. Wolcott.

This despatch had been preceded by another of an earlier date, which was written to explain the disturbances in Western Pennsylvania, and gave an account of an extraordinary interview with Mr. Randolph, who considered that "a civil war was about to ravage our unhappy country," which could only be averted by certain men, who were without means to accomplish their plans, and for whom he asked the Minister to "lend them instantaneous funds to shelter them from English persecution." The second despatch, giving an account of American politics, in making which Mr. Randolph certainly assisted, attributes to Hamilton the enforcement of the excise tax, "to mislead the President into unpopular courses and to introduce absolute power under pretext of giving energy to the government." It is not necessary to enter more fully upon all that was said in this remarkable despatch, further than to state that it expressly charged Mr. Randolph with complicity in the statement, and saying, among other things: "Thus, with some thousands of dollars, the republic could have decided on civil war or peace! Thus the consciences of the pretended patriots of America already have their price!"

Upon Washington's arrival in Philadelphia, the despatch was shown to him, and a Cabinet meeting was held, at which the members, except Randolph, decided upon immediate ratification. This Washington assented to, and on August 14th the treaty was signed by him. The preparation of certain other papers was completed by Randolph, and the copies of the treaty were countersigned by him, when Washington "presented to him, in presence of the other Cabinet officers, the original intercepted despatch, with a request to read it, and to make such explanations as he might think fit."

Randolph, after reading it, endeavored to answer the allegations, denying many and claiming that he had been misunderstood and that his statements had been misinterpreted by M. Fauchet, but seeing that his explanations were not satisfactory, immediately offered his resignation. This was repeated in writing the same day, with the request that the publication of the despatch might be withheld until he could prepare fuller explanations. These were published shortly afterwards, but did not relieve his name from the stigma which was attached to it. This delay of publication of the reasons for his resignation gave rise to the speculations as to its cause in some of the letters.

Washington was much embarrassed in finding a successor to Mr. Randolph, which fact he communicates to General Hamilton in a letter of October 29th,\* telling him in confidence that he had offered the office to several, whom he named, and who had refused. He continues :

“Would Mr. King accept it ? You know the objection I have had to the nomination, to office, of any person from either branch of the Legislature, and you will be at no loss to perceive, that at the present crisis, another reason might be adduced against this appointment. But maugre all objections, if Mr. King would accept, I would look no further. Can you sound, and let me know soon, his sentiments on this occasion ? If he should feel disposed to listen to the proposition, tell him *candidly*, all that I have done in this matter ; that neither he nor I may be made uneasy thereafter from the discovery of it. He will, I am confident, perceive the ground upon which I have acted, in making these essays ; and will, I am persuaded, appreciate my motive. If he should decline also, pray learn with precision from him, what the qualifications of Mr. Potts, the Senator, are, and be as diffusive as you can with respect to others, and I will decide on nothing until I hear from you—pressing as the case is.”

\* *Hamilton's Works*, vi., 53.

A. HAMILTON TO G. WASHINGTON, NEW YORK.

" Nov. 5, 1795.

" SIR :

" I received on the second instant your two letters of the 29th of October, with the inclosures. An answer has been delayed, to ascertain the disposition of Mr. King, who, through the summer, has resided in the country, and is only occasionally in town. I am now able to inform you—*he would not accept*. Circumstances of the moment conspire with the disgust which a virtuous and independent mind feels at placing itself *en but* to the foul and venomous shafts of calumny, which are continually shot by an odious confederacy against virtue, to give Mr. King a decided disinclination to office.

" I wish, sir, I could present to you any useful ideas as a substitute. But the embarrassment is extreme as to the Secretary of State. . . .

" I have conferred with Mr. King with respect to Mr. Potts ; we both think well of his principles and consider him as a man of good sense. But he is of a cast of character ill suited to such an appointment, and is not *extensive* either as to habits or information. It is also a serious question, whether the Senate at this time ought to be weakened. . . ."

After suggesting several names, and commenting on them, he says :

" In fact a first-rate character is not attainable. A second-rate must be taken with good dispositions and barely decent qualifications. I wish I could throw more light. 'Tis a sad omen for the government. . . .

Mr. Pickering \* in a letter to Hamilton, November 17th, a letter marked *perfectly confidential*, after speaking of the President's having offered the office of Secretary of State to several persons, among them Mr. King, says :

\* *Hamilton's Works*, vol. vi., p. 67.

"The President . . . made me the tender. I declined it, as not possessing the talent so much to be desired in a Secretary of State, in the propriety and ability of whose conduct the dignity as well as the interests of the nation were so materially involved. On various grounds the President urged my acceptance. . . . I promised to consider of it . . . I made" (he says after consultation with others) "the President the following declaration. That I wished no longer to keep him in suspense, and that I would accept the office of Secretary of State. . . . I would continue my attention to both Departments (War & State), if that of War could be filled to his satisfaction, I would go to the Department of State; if a character well adapted to the latter should present, I would remain where I was. In one word, to free him from all embarrassment, I would serve in one office or the other, as the public good should require. The President answered 'That is very liberal.'"

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E. RANDOLPH TO R. KING, NEW YORK.

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 16, 1795.

DEAR SIR :

As my opinions upon the *treaty itself* are known to you to be in favor of a ratification, so I think it necessary to request you to read a letter,\* which I have this day written to Mr. Jay and which he will show you. My object in giving you this trouble is to prevent a possible supposition that I have receded from the ground, which I still hold tenable in spite of the objections which I have seen and heard.

With great respect & esteem, &c.,

EDM. RANDOLPH.

\* This letter does not appear among those published in Mr. Jay's *Life* or *Correspondence*, but there is an answer to it of August 20th, thanking Mr. Randolph "for the interesting information detailed in it," and making no other allusion to it. —ED.

J. GUNN TO R. KING, NEW YORK.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 22, 1795.

Secretary Randolph has, or will in a few days, *resign his office*. I confess my regret is not in the Extreme. This man has treated the President Infamously. He occasioned delay and then gave assurances *that the Treaty was not signed*; which invited opposition from every quarter.

Yours sincerely,

JAMES GUNN.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

Augt. 25th, 1795.

My last will have informed you that the president had executed what depended on him pursuant to the advice of the Senate, to conclude the Treaty with England. The knowledge of this Fact has had a happy effect in composing the public mind.

Mr. Randolph a few days since resigned his office as Secy of State, he is now here on his way to Rd. Island. He does not explain himself in relation to this sudden measure ; It will probably be suggested, that he has gone out of office from a Dislike of the English Treaty—this will be wholly incorrect. Mr. Randolph approved of the Treaty in toto ; and he yesterday told me, he saw no reason to change, or alter, his opinion on that subject.

We have this morning been afflicted with the information from Phil. of the sudden Death on Sunday evening of the Attorney General Mr. Bradford—this is a serious loss to the Government.

It may be satisfactory to the Vice President to be confirmed in the information, that the completion of the Business relative to the treaty with England, is confided to his son, our Resident at the Hague.

Very affectionately,

R. KING.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

MY DEAR SIR :

BOSTON, Sept. 13, 1795.

The resignation of Mr. Randolph has occasioned many conjectures, none however favorable to him. Our curiosity is on tiptoe

to know the cause ; tho' we are perfectly satisfied that the government is relieved of the minister. We have expected every post to hear yourself announced as his successor ; and it is generally agreed that such is the critical situation of our affairs, that you wou'd sacrifice your ease for your country's service. If we are not sound and able in the executive, our chance of an orderly government, that can protect the liberties of the citizens, will be desperate. The smallest deviation from a firm and steady conduct in that department, or an inability to support its measures by strong and conclusive reasoning, will give strength to our disorganizers, and confirm and encrease the hold they now have on the prejudices and passions of the people. So far as I can learn the temper of the country on the treaty, it is right ; and so it certainly is in all our seaports, Boston excepted ; where the mob, doubtless instigated by the same men, who occasion'd the town meeting is continually attempting to burn the treaty, Mr. Jay's effigy, and to do other acts of violence. But I hope and trust that such conduct, as it seems to expose the views and wickedness of the faction, will confirm and consolidate the friends of order and government. It must convince the most timid that strength and energy is necessary to secure to them peace, liberty and property, and we find many who were among the deluded opposers to the ratification of the treaty, in the foremost ranks to oppose these sons of sedition.

The governor (Samuel Adams) is assailed in all quarters to adopt efficient measures ; but he has evaded and will evade all requests of this nature, so long as he thinks the mob aim only its vengeance against national men and national measures. Indeed this weak old man is one of the loudest bawlers against the treaty, and the boldest in proposing schemes of opposition to the federal government. It is said a plan, that has been attempted, of establishing committees of correspondence in the several towns of Massachusetts to gain a uniformity in the proceedings of opposition was suggested by him, and the fitness and expediency of the plan supported by the good it did in our contest with Great Britain. Thus we see the inveteracy and extent of opposition proposed by our antis. But if all remains right and sound at the head, there is little danger of contaminating the mass of Massachusetts at present. Tho' the most fearful apprehensions are to

be entertained in case of any adversity, or an obligation on the part of government to do anything really bearing hard on the pleasures or quiet of the citizens. . . .

Yours sincerely,

C. GORE.

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FISHER AMES TO R. KING.

DEDHAM, Nov. 5, 1795.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I despair of attending Congress at the opening of the session [on account of his health—ED.], & the time when I may be both remote and uncertain. Great reflection and care ought to precede as well as conduct the beginning of business in the house. If the Democrats would agree to be silent on the Treaty in the answer to the President's speech, would it be eligible, certainly not the most eligible. I hope you and others will think beforehand what course ought to be taken.

With sincere regard &c.

FISHER AMES.

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C. GORE TO R. KING, N. Y.

BOSTON, 19th Nov., 1795.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . The politics of our country are really good, unless I am much deceiv'd. Every information from the interior has convinced me, that no evil is to be apprehended from the violent proceedings of the Seaports. The outrages of this town have produced a belief among the husbandmen, that very different motives than a regard for the public good have occasion'd the opposition to the Treaty.

If Great Britain shall ratify this instrument on her part, and commissioners are appointed to determine the claims of Americans, I shou'd be pleased to be one of them. . . .

My dear friend, very truly yours,

C. GORE.

### CHAPTER III.

**Fourth Congress—President's Speech—Mr. King reports the Senate's Answer—Debate on its Terms—Mr. Jay's Resignation of Chief-Justiceship—Mr. Rutledge's Appointment and Rejection by the Senate—Mr. Ellsworth's Appointment.**

The Fourth Congress assembled on the 7th December, 1795, and the President met the two Houses in the chamber of the House of Representatives, and read his speech, which, in the Senate, was referred to a committee of Messrs. King, Ellsworth, and Cabot. The speech was a very interesting summary of the domestic and foreign affairs of the country, of which he said that they had never at any period, more than at the present, afforded "so just cause for mutual congratulation," and "for profound gratitude to the Author of all Good for the numerous and extraordinary blessings we enjoy." Among the interesting details he presented was the official announcement to the House of Representatives of his ratification of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation with Great Britain, with the advice and consent of the Senate, with a condition relative to part of one article; that the result, on the part of his Britannic Majesty was unknown; but when received, would without delay be laid before Congress.

On the 10th, Mr. King reported the draft of an address in answer to the President's speech, which was probably written by him, and is here presented as expressive of his views on the matters to which attention had been directed.

"SIR :

"It is with peculiar satisfaction that we are informed by your Speech to the two Houses of Congress, that the long and expensive war in which we have been engaged with the Indians North-west of the Ohio is in a situation to be finally terminated ; and though we view with concern the danger of an interruption of the peace so recently confirmed with the Creeks, we indulge the hope that the measures you have adopted to prevent the same, if followed by those legislative provisions that justice and humanity equally demand, will succeed in laying the foundation of a lasting peace with the Indian tribes on the Southern as well as on the Western frontiers.

"The confirmation of our Treaty with Morocco, and the adjustment of a Treaty of Peace with Algiers, in consequence of which our captive fellow citizens shall be delivered from slavery, are events that will prove no less interesting to the public humanity, than they will be important in extending and securing the navigation and commerce of our country.

"As a just and equitable conclusion of our depending negotiations with Spain, will essentially advance the interests of both nations, and thereby cherish and confirm the good understanding and friendship which we have at all times desired to maintain, it will afford us real pleasure to receive an early confirmation of our expectations on this subject.

"The interesting prospect of our affairs, with regard to the foreign Powers between whom and the United States controversies have subsisted, is not more satisfactory than the review of our internal situation ; if from the former we derive an expectation of the extinguishment of all the causes of external discord, that have heretofore endangered our tranquillity, and on terms consistent with our national honor and safety, in the latter we discover those numerous and widespread tokens of prosperity, which, in so peculiar a manner, distinguish our happy country.

"Circumstances thus every way auspicious demand our gratitude, and sincere acknowledgments to Almighty God, and require that we should unite our efforts in imitation of your enlightened, firm and persevering example to establish and preserve the peace, freedom and prosperity of our country.

"The objects which you have recommended to the notice of

the Legislature, will, in the course of the session, receive our careful attention, and with a true zeal for the public welfare, we shall cheerfully co-operate in every measure that shall appear to us best calculated to promote the same."

By a resolution adopted the day before, the gallery of the Senate chamber was permitted to be opened, and in consequence we have, in the *Debates* of Congress, the heads of a discussion relative to the fourth and fifth paragraphs, which Mr. Mason moved to strike out, as he considered these two clauses would precipitate decisions in the Senate, that "the minority could not be expected to recede from the opinions" they held in the June session, and "could not therefore join in the indirect self-approbation which the majority appeared to wish for, and which was most certainly involved in the two clauses which he should hope would be struck out." If his motion was agreed to, the remainder of the address would, in his opinion, stand unexceptionable. He did not see, for his part, that our situation was every way auspicious. Notwithstanding the treaty, our trade is grievously molested.

Mr. King remarked, that the principal features observable in the answer to the President's address were to keep up that harmony of intercourse which ought to subsist between the Legislature and the President, and to express confidence in the undiminished firmness and love of country which always characterize our chief executive magistrate. He objected to striking out especially the first clause, because founded on undeniable truth. It only declares that our prospects, as to our external relations, are not more satisfactory than a review of our internal situation would prove. Was not this representation true, he asked; could it be controverted? This clause, he contended, contained nothing reasonably objectionable; it did not say as much as the second, to which only most of the objections of the member up before him applied, an answer to which he should defer, expecting that a question would be put on each in order.

The clause, he said, appeared to him drawn up in such terms as could not offend the nicest feelings of the minority on the important decision in June ; it was particularly circumspect and cautious. If liable to objection, it was in not going as far as the truth would warrant.

After some further debate, in which Messrs. Mason, Butler, and Tazewell urged the striking out of the two clauses, and Messrs. Ellsworth and Read, of South Carolina, sustained the report, it was adopted by a vote of 14 to 8.

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A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.\*

Dec. 14, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR :

An extraordinary press of occupation has delayed an answer to your letter on the subject of Mr. R. ; though it may come too late I comply with your request as soon as I can.

The subject is truly a perplexing one ; my mind has several times fluctuated ; if there were nothing in the case but his imprudent sally upon a certain occasion, I should think the reasons for letting him pass would outweigh those for opposing his passage. But if it be really true that he is sottish or that his mind is otherwise deranged, or that he has exposed himself by improper conduct in pecuniary transactions, the byass of my judgment would be to negative ; and as to the fact I would satisfy myself by careful inquiry of persons of character, who may have had an opportunity of knowing.

It is now, and in certain probable events will still more be, of infinite consequence that the judiciary should be well composed. Reflection upon this in its various aspects, weighs heavily on my mind against Mr. R., upon the accounts I have received of him and balances very weighty considerations the other way.

Yrs.

A. HAMILTON.

From what a Mr. Wadsworth lately in Philadelphia tells me of a conversation between Burr, Baldwin & Gallatin, it would seem

\* *Hamilton's Works.*, vi., 76.

that the *two last* Gentlemen have made up their minds to consider the Treaty, if ratified by G. Britain, as *conclusive upon the H. of Representatives*. I thought it well this should be known to you, if not before understood from any other quarter.

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R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.\*

16th December, 1795.

I send you Dunlap of this morning. In it you have foreign intelligence. Fenno, Dunlap and others have erroneously stated, that Mr. Warden brought the ratification of Great Britain. No official despatch has been received. Rutledge was negatived yesterday. From present appearances, the address to the President, will pass without a debate. The draft has been, by agreement in the Committee who reported it, shaped so as to reserve all points intended to be discussed relative to the treaty. The words underscored † in the inclosed draft, were offered in the committee by Mr. Madison, who agreed to concur in the paragraph, if they were added. You perceive the object.

R. KING.

Upon the resignation of Mr. Jay from the office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the President had appointed John Rutledge of South Carolina to that position. His letter of appointment reached him two days after, at a public meeting in Charleston, in which he denounced the treaty as "totally destitute of a single article worthy of approval. He even went so far as to reproach Jay with stupidity, if not corruption, in having signed it." ‡ It is to this fact that

\* *Hamilton's Works*, vi., p. 77.

† "In the paragraph which declared that 'a secure foundation will be laid for accelerating, maturing and establishing the prosperity of our country; if by treaty and amicable negotiation, all those causes of external discord, which heretofore menaced our tranquillity, shall be extinguished on terms compatible with our national rights and honor,' Madison insisted, as a condition of his concurrence, that the words should be added—'and with our Constitution and great commercial interests.'"—*Hamilton's Life*, by J. C. H., vi., p. 326.

‡ Hildreth's *History of the United States*, 2d series, i., 551.

Hamilton probably alludes in his letter to Rufus King of December 14th, while the question of his confirmation as Chief Justice was pending in the Senate. He presided over the Court during one term, but was rejected by the Senate, as mentioned by Mr. King in his letter of December 16th. Mr. Cushing was offered the position, but having declined it, Mr. Ellsworth was appointed.

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R. KING TO DR. SOUTHGATE.

PHILADELPHIA, 27th Decr., 1795.

DEAR SOUTHGATE :

. . . William \* [R. K.'s brother] I am informed is a member of the General Court, & I am sorry for it unless his Commercial Pursuits calling him to Boston, an attendance there will not be detrimental to his Business. When he has toiled as long as I have, I think he will agree with me that it would have been wiser altogether to have abstained from political Engagements. . . .

Always sincerely yours,

RUFUS KING.

\* Afterwards the first Governor of Maine.

## CHAPTER IV.

**Treaty with Great Britain communicated to Congress—Opposition in the House of Representatives—Demand made upon the President for Instructions to the Minister and Correspondence—Refusal of the President on constitutional Grounds to send in these Papers—Correspondence showing the Temper of the People about the Treaty—Correspondence relative to Patrick Henry's Nomination for the Presidency—Mr. King's Nomination as Minister to England—His Appointment.**

On March 1, 1796, the President, having first proclaimed it as the law of the land, communicated to Congress the treaty with Great Britain, which had been duly ratified in London. This was the signal in the House of Representatives to let loose the pent up wrath against this measure, which had only been restrained until official notice of its ratification should be received. The Message was referred to the Committee of the Whole, and the consideration of it was begun the next day by a motion from Mr. Edward Livingston: "That the President of the United States be requested to lay before this House a copy of the instructions to the Minister of the United States, who negotiated the Treaty with Great Britain, communicated by his Message of the 1st of March, together with the correspondence and other documents relative to the said Treaty," which he modified a few days later by the addition of the words, "excepting such of said papers as any existing negotiation may render improper to be disclosed."

Upon a call for the reasons which prompted such a resolution, if, for instance, it was to lay the ground for an im-

peachment against any officer, Mr. Livingston answered in general

“ that the House were the guardians of their country’s rights ; they are, by the constitution, the accusing organ of the officers employed. That the information called for they ought to possess as it would tend to elucidate the conduct of the officers. His principal reason, however, . . . was a firm conviction that the House were vested with a discretionary power of carrying the Treaty into effect, or refusing their sanction. . . . For this purpose the papers were necessary, and the House had a right to call for them.”

Other reasons were put forth by later speakers, and chiefly by Mr. Gallatin, especially in answer to the argument on the other side, that by the Constitution the whole treaty-making power was with the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and that the publication of the treaty made it the law of the land.

Mr. Gallatin said \* that he had no objection to follow them into the examination of the constitutional question,

“ and to *rest the decision of the Constitutional powers of Congress on the fate of the present question*. He would, therefore, state his opinion that the House had a *right* to ask for the papers proposed to be called for, because their co-operation and sanction was necessary to carry the Treaty into full effect, to render it a binding instrument, and to make it, properly speaking, a law of the land ; because they had a full discretion either to give or to refuse that co-operation ; because they must be guided, in the exercise of that discretion by the merits and expediency of the Treaty itself, and therefore had a *right* to ask for every information which could assist them in deciding that question.”

The same points were urged by all the leading members of the House who took that side of the discussion, Madison, Giles, Baldwin, Livingston, and others, and they were an-

\* *Annals of Congress*, Sept., 1795-6, p. 465.

swered by Smith of South Carolina, Harper, Sedgwick, Hillhouse, and others, who based their arguments on the Constitution itself, as Sedgwick said \* : "The treaty-making power, with all its effects and consequences, was solely and exclusively in the President and Senate." As the framers of the Constitution supported this construction, those who ratified did the same, and as the practical action of the government had been in conformity with it, it was clear that

"Treaties so made became in fact supreme law, and being compacts they bound the public faith, and could not be violated without national disgrace and personal dishonor. They might require Legislative provision to carry them into effect ; but this neither implied nor authorized the exercise of discretion as to refusal ;"

and that Congress could not revise the terms that might be made, or have any authority in carrying it out, except where money was to be had, and that then their power was limited to the best method of raising and paying the money.

Mr. Harper, † who closed the debate, stated that he opposed the resolution because "the papers to be called for were not necessary for enabling the House to execute this discretion (to withhold its aid, where Legislative aid was requisite to carry the Treaty into effect) ; that their decision on it was to be guided by the instrument itself, and not by the instructions or the previous negotiations, the call for which implied an opinion that the House had a right, not only to determine whether it would co-operate in carrying a Treaty into effect, but also to interfere in making Treaties." Finding the former ground could not be maintained, he said, "they now asserted a right to interference in making Treaties," which right he, as others before him, explicitly denied.

The debate was a very able and prolonged one, and of ex-

\* *Annals of Congress*, 1795-6, pp. 527, 528.

† *Ibid.*, p. 747.

treme interest, as it involved a constitutional provision, relative to the powers of the Legislative department and of the Executive, the President, and the Senate acting in executive capacity. It consumed nearly three weeks, when on March 24th, the resolution of Mr. Livingston with its modification was passed by a vote of sixty-two ayes and thirty-seven nays.

The decision of the House was next day conveyed to the President, who informed the committee that he would take the resolution into consideration.

In *Hamilton's Works*, vi., p. 94, is a letter from him to King, March 16th, giving his views upon the call made by the House upon the President, and asserting that the President ought to take a stand against the usurpation of the House, for reasons which he gives, and closes a letter to Washington of March 28th, after considering some suggestions as to the propriety of his communicating "only the commissions and Mr. Jay's correspondence," saying that these are all that it appears to him for the public interest to send,

"But after the fullest reflection I have been able to give the subject (though I perceive serious degrees of inconvenience in the course), I entertain a final opinion that it will be best, after the usurpation attempted by the House of Representatives, to send none, and to resist in totality." \*

Three days after this date Washington writes, on the 31st :

"From the first moment, and from the fullest conviction in my own mind, I had resolved to *resist the principle*, which was evidently intended to be established by the call of the House of Representatives, and only deliberated on the manner in which this could be done with the least bad consequences."

And while thanking Hamilton for the trouble he had taken to dilate on the request of the House of Representatives,

\* *Hamilton's Works*, vol. vi., p. 98.

and "to show the impropriety of that request," he stated that after consultation with the heads of the departments and Attorney-General, he had finally sent the answer he had prepared, and which will be found in the *Annals of Congress*, 1795, vi., pp. 760, 761, which closes with this paragraph :

"As therefore it is perfectly clear to my understanding, that the assent of the House of Representatives is not necessary to the validity of a Treaty ; as the Treaty with Great Britain exhibits in itself all the objects requiring legislative provision, and on these the papers called for can throw no light ; and as it is essential to the due administration of the Government, that the boundaries fixed by the Constitution between the different departments should be preserved—a just regard to the Constitution and to the duty of my office, under all the circumstances of this case, forbid a compliance with your request."

Upon receipt of this Message, the House resolved itself in Committee of the Whole upon it, and after a short debate affirmed, by a vote of 57 to 35, their right to deliberate on the expediency or in expediency of carrying a treaty into effect, and to determine and act thereon, as in their judgment may be most conducive to the public good, when the treaty contains stipulations which depend for execution upon a law, or laws, to be passed by Congress, and that it is not necessary to state in the application for such information as they may desire, the purpose for which the information is wanted. At the same time they said they did not claim any agency in making treaties, as the Constitution, in Article II., gave the power to the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate. The bill for carrying the treaty into effect was finally passed on the 3d of May, by 51 to 48.\*

\* Mr. Jefferson's *Anas*, vol. ix., p. 104 (*Jefferson's Works*.)

"March the 1st, 1808, Mr. Tazewell tells me, that when the appropriations for the British Treaty were on the carpet, and very uncertain in the lower House, there being at the time a number of bills in the hands of the committees of the Senate, none reported and the Senate idle for the want of them, he, in his place, called on the committees to report, and particularly on Mr. King, who was of most of them. King said that it was true the committees kept back their re-

The above sketch of the proceedings in reference to the Jay treaty is given to show the interest taken by Mr. King in the proper solution of the grave questions which were involved. He appears in harmony with Hamilton, who, though no longer occupying an official position, was still the able and trusted adviser of the President—not the director of his actions on all occasions, as some have asserted. The President's mind, as he says himself, was made up at once as to his duty; his only hesitation was as to the manner of doing it. Mr. King in the Senate, and occupying an influential position there, as the records of that body show, was able to watch events and to hold himself in readiness to meet every case that might arise and give direction to the efforts of the friends of the administration in the House also. A letter to Hamilton of 1st May, speaks of the results then accomplished and his fears and hopes for the future.\*

“In committee of the whole on Friday, it was resolved by the casting vote of Muhlenburgh, the chairman, to make provision by law for carrying the Treaty with England into effect; yesterday the resolution of the committee was passed by the House by 51 against 48. A proposition to prefix to the resolution a preamble declaring the Treaty to be injurious to the interests of the United States and assigning the short duration of its temporary articles as a reason why it should be permitted to go into effect, was negatived

ports waiting the event of the question about appropriation; that, if that was not carried, they considered legislation as at an end; that they might as well break up and consider the Union dissolved. Tazewell expressed his astonishment at these ideas, and called on King to know if he had misapprehended him. King rose again and repeated the same words. The next day Cabot took an occasion in debate, and so awkward a one as to show it was a thing agreed to be done, to repeat the same sentiments in stronger terms, and carried further, by declaring a determination on their side to break up and dissolve the government.”

This narrative certainly shows that Mr. King held an influential position in the Senate during this exciting period, and, if correct, that he looked with most serious forebodings as to the future, if the House refused their part in carrying out the provisions of the treaty.

\* *Hamilton's Works*, vol. vi., p. 112.

by 50 against 49, and the resolution was immediately, and without division, referred to a committee, with instructions to prepare a bill, or bills, in conformity with the resolution. The failure of the party in their intention to denounce the Treaty, I am fearful, will not discourage them in a second attempt. A majority of five or six (if I am not mistaken) would join in a vote of condemnation, but in the shape in which the proposition was offered, some of the most inveterate opponents of the Treaty voted in the negative, because, they said, if they voted for the preamble, it would be then proper for them to vote for the resolution, which they were determined not to do. Though from the stage in which the business now is, I hope the attempt will not be made; yet, if an independent resolution should be offered declaring the Treaty to be injurious, &c., I am apprehensive it would be adopted. This, however, would not defeat the provision for the execution of the Treaty—51 votes in the affirmative; the Speaker's vote, with that of Mr. Freeman, of Massachusetts, both of whom are in favor of the provisions, make 53 affirmative votes, a majority of the whole number of Representatives."

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J. MARSHALL TO R. KING.

RICHMOND, April 25, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I take the liberty to avail myself of your aid for forwarding to Mr. Hamilton the inclosed letter.\*

The ruling party of Virginia are extremely irritated at the vote of to-day and will spare no exertion to obtain a majority in other

\* The letter to Hamilton here mentioned is of the same date as the above, and may be found in *Works of Hamilton*, vol. vi., p. 108. It relates to the feeling in Virginia relative to the question of the adoption of Jay's treaty, and of the temper of the House of Representatives, and especially of the Virginia members, who bitterly opposed its ratification; and speaks of the meeting called that day in Richmond by those who desired the ratification of the treaty, saying that a resolution had been passed by a decided majority, after long discussion, "that the welfare and honor of the nation required us to give full effect to the treaty negotiated with Britain." He says further: "I think it would be very difficult, perhaps impossible, to engage Mr. H. [probably Mr. Henry] on the right side of this question."

counties. Even here they will affect to have the greater number of freeholders and have set about counter Resolutions to which they have the signatures of many respectable persons, but of still a greater number of mere boys; and altho' some caution has been used by us in excluding those who might not be considered as authorized to vote, they will not fail to charge us with having collected a number of names belonging to foreigners and to persons having no property in the place. The charge is as far untrue as has perhaps ever happened on any occasion of the sort. We could, by resorting to that measure, have doubled our list of petitioners.

I have endeavored to take means to procure similar applications from various parts of the State. Exitus in dubio est.

With very much respect & esteem, &c.

J. MARSHALL.

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R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.\*

Monday, May 2, 1796.

The inclosed letter will give you all the information that we have on the subject to which it relates. It seems problematical whether P. H. can be induced to agree in the arrangement. Some circumstances of which I have lately heard incline me to believe that he will not. Our session will close by the 1st of June, provided no further impediment is thrown in the way of the provision for giving efficacy to the treaty with England—and it is much to be wished that a definitive should be made before we separate.

Mr. Pinckney has asked leave to return home, and waits only for permission. To his former stock of popularity he will now add the good-will of those who have been peculiarly gratified with the Spanish Treaty. Should we concur in him, will he not receive as great, perhaps greater, southern and western support than any other man?

\* *Hamilton's Works*, vi., p. 113. In this same volume, p. 425, Mr. J. C. Hamilton says in reference to Mr. Pinckney's wish to be recalled: "This purpose was communicated by Rufus King to Hamilton, in a letter, relative to overtures which Hamilton had requested Marshall to open with Patrick Henry, to permit his name to be used at the next canvass for the Presidency."

You must know that I am not a little tired with this separation from my family and drudging in the Senate. The work now before us being finished, I think I am entitled to a dismissal. It would be agreeable to me to spend a few years abroad, and if I do not misconceive the interests of the country, I think I could render some service to the public at the present period in England. Will you converse with Mr. Jay on the subject—I can through no other channel communicate with the Executive—nor do I desire that either of you should suggest the measure, unless you both agree in its propriety and utility.

Yours very sincerely.

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A. HAMILTON TO R. KING. \*

May 4, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR :

Since my last I have received two or three letters from you. The late turn of the treaty question makes us all very happy. I hope no future embarrassment will arise.

I am entirely of the opinion that, Patrick Henry declining, Mr. Pinckney ought to be our man. It is even an idea of which I am fond in various lights. Indeed, on later reflection, I rather wish to be rid of Patrick Henry, that we may be at full liberty to take up Pinckney.

In the event of Pinckney's return to this country, I am of opinion, all circumstances considered, it is expedient you should replace him. I hope no great question will in a short period agitate our councils, and I am sure you will do much good on the scene in question. I have called on Jay, but happened not to find him disengaged. I shall quickly see him, and shall, with great pleasure, do everything requisite on my part.

We believe confidently our election in the city has succeeded ; the other party, however, claims success. Our Senator ticket seems admitted on both sides to have prevailed, and all accounts assure us of great success throughout the State. The *vile affair* †

\* *Hamilton's Works*, vol. vi., p. 114.

† *Life of Alex. Hamilton*, vol. vi., p. 426. "This 'vile affair' was the infiction of personal chastisement by order of a Bridewell Court for insolence to an Alderman."

of whipping Burke and McCredy made our election, in the view of the common people, a question between the rich and the poor. You will easily conceive how much this must have embarrassed and jeopardized.

Yours affectionately &c.

The following letter closes the correspondence on the negotiations with Mr. Henry.

J. MARSHALL TO R. KING.

RICHMOND, May 24, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

Mr. Henry has at length been sounded on the subject you committed to my charge. Genl. Lee and myself have each conversed with him on it, tho' without informing him particularly of the persons who authorized the communication. He is unwilling to embark in the business. His unwillingness, I think, proceeds from an apprehension of the difficulties to be encountered by those who shall fill high Executive offices.

With very much respect and esteem &c.

J. MARSHALL.

Endorsed by R. King :

Ansd. 1 June.—regretting &c and observing that it wd. be requisite to fix on another person without delay.

R. K.

A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.\*

May 5, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

After reading, seal and hand in the enclosed. If such things are to be, you cannot leave the Senate. Jay is against it, at all events until the European storm is over. We must all think well of this business.

Yours affectionately &c.

The inclosed letter was for the President.—R. K.

It is probable that the inclosed letter is that of which Washington acknowledged the receipt, and which he answered on May 8th, † beginning :

\* *Hamilton's Works*, vi., 114.

† *Ibid.*, vi., 116.

"Your note of the 5th inst., accompanying the information given to G.— M.—, on March 16th came to me on Friday. The letter he refers to as having been written to me is not yet received ; but others from Mr. Monroe of similar complexion, and almost of as imperious a tone from the Government have come to hand."

The tenor of these letters indicated that France, disapproving of the treaty with Great Britain, might take decisive steps to show this disposition, and as the President says:

"*May*, and I believe, *will* send out an envoy extraordinary, with instructions to make strong remonstrances against the unfriendliness (as they will term it) and the tendency of our treaty with Great Britain ; accompanied, probably, and expectedly, with discretionary powers to go farther. . . . But I cannot bring my mind to believe that they seriously mean, or that they could accompany this envoy with a fleet to *demand* the annihilation of the treaty with Great Britain in fifteen days, or that war, in case of refusal, must follow as a consequence. . . . If you have communicated this letter to Mr. Jay, I wish you would lay this also before him in *confidence*, and that you and he would be so good as to favor me with your sentiments and opinions upon both."

This condition of the foreign relations was doubtless the reason which induced Hamilton to say that Mr. King must not leave the Senate, an opinion in which Jay concurred, and not as Mr. J. C. Hamilton\* says without comment or reason given. "Jay thought King should not leave the Senate." In the same spirit,† in reference to the appointment of Mr. King as Minister to England, he gives no authority for the following remark: "Washington's objections to this appointment were not merely of a public nature ; he had conceived a strong dislike to King ; but sedulous of the public good the President now acquiesced

\* *Life of Hamilton*, vi., 426.  
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† *Ibid.*, p. 428.

in Hamilton's wishes." There is no evidence given of the existence of this dislike. Mr. King's being a Senator was one of the causes of the President's hesitation, as the following extract from a letter of May 15th from Washington to Hamilton indicates\*:

" . . . With respect to the gentleman you have mentioned as successor to Mr. P., there can be no doubt of his abilities, nor *in my mind* is there any of his fitness. But you know, as well as I, what has been said of his political sentiments with respect to another form of government; and from thence can be at no loss to guess at the interpretation which would be given to the nomination of him. However, the subject shall have due consideration; but a previous resignation would, in my opinion, carry with it too much the appearance of concert, & would have a bad rather than good effect."

To this Mr. Hamilton replied,† referring, as the general index to Hamilton's works says, to Rufus King:

A. HAMILTON TO G. WASHINGTON.

" May 20, 1796.

" . . . I observe what you say on the subject of a certain diplomatic mission. Permit me to offer with frankness the reflections which have struck my mind.

"The importance of our security, and commerce, and good understanding with Great Britain, renders it very important that a man *able* and not *disagreeable* to that Government, should be there. The gentleman in question, equally with any who could go, and better than any willing to go, answers this description. The idea hinted in your letter will apply to every man fit for the mission, by his conspicuousness, talents, and dispositions. 'T is the stalking horse of a certain party, and is made use of against every man, who is not in their views and of sufficient consequence to attract their obloquy. If listened to, it will deprive

\* *Hamilton's Works*, vi., 122.

† *Ibid.*, vi., 125.

the government of the services of the most able and faithful agents. Is this expedient? What will be gained by it? Is it not evident that this party will pursue its hostility at all events as far as public opinion will permit? Does policy require anything more than that they shall have no real cause to complain? Will it do, in deference to their calumniating insinuations, to forbear employing the most competent men, or to entrust the great business of the country to unskilful, unfaithful, or doubtful hands? I really feel a conviction that it will be very dangerous to let party insinuations of this kind prove a serious obstacle to the employment of the best qualified characters. Mr. King is a remarkably well informed man, a very judicious one, a man of address, a man of fortune and economy, whose situation affords just ground of confidence; a man of unimpeached probity, where he is best known, a firm friend to the government, a supporter of the measures of the President—a man who cannot but feel that he has strong pretensions to confidence and trust.

“I might enlarge on these topics, but I have not leisure, neither can it be necessary. I have thrown out so much in the fulness of my heart, and too much in a hurry to fashion either the idea or the expression as it ought to be. The President, however, will, I doubt not, receive what I have said, as it is meant, as dictated by equal regard for the public interest and the honorable course of his administration. . . .”

Mr. King was soon after nominated, and confirmed by the Senate, as Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of London, and on the 23d his letter of resignation from that body was read in the Senate.\* Thus closed for a time his career

\* In reference to this appointment, Mr. King says in answer to questions from Mr. William Coleman in his letter of February 5, 1817: “The Mission to England I was desirous to have. I had reason to know that Genl. W. had thought of giving it to me, when Mr. Th. P. was appointed. When Mr. Py. desired to be recalled, and the mission was offered to me, I unhesitatingly accepted it.

“I lived more intimately with the public men of England, as well those of the Opposition as of the Govt., than any foreigner of my time. I frequented the society of literary men and have been in correspondence with several of the most distinguished civilians of the old world.”

in that legislative body. That he had been active in the performance of his duties there, both as chairman of important committees and as a member of others, in matters relating to commercial regulations, to the various treaties negotiated, to the admission of Tennessee as a new State, which only took place after he left the Senate, and to many other important measures considered during that session, the Journal of the Senate bears abundant evidence. He had, however, for reasons which have been given, determined to retire from his position in the Legislature, and desired to seek employment elsewhere, where he thought he might do good, and in a position more congenial to his tastes. Washington thus announced to Mr. Pinckney, who had asked leave to return home, the appointment of Mr. King to take his place :

“ The doubtful issue of the dispute and the real difficulty in finding a character to supply your place at the Court of London, has occasioned a longer delay than may have been convenient or agreeable to you. But, as Mr. King of the Senate, who, it seems, has resolved to quit his seat at that Board, has accepted the position, and will embark as soon as matters can be arranged, you will soon be relieved.”

## CHAPTER V.

Correspondence relative to the Treaty—Massachusetts Politics—Opinion of Hamilton as to Washington's Course relative to the Demand made by the House of Representatives for the Instructions to Mr. Jay—Congratulations to Mr. King on his Appointment—Some Instructions and his Suggestions—Letters from W. Smith on Affairs of S. Carolina and George Cabot on those of Massachusetts.

THEODORE SEDGWICK TO R. KING, N. YORK.

PHIL., 1st Jany., 1796.

DEAR KING :

I hope you have found your family happier than you expected.  
. . . A copy of the treaty and its ratification is arrived, but the Prest. will not submit it to the legislature untill he receives the original. This information I have from Col. Pickering. By whom the original is to be expected is not known. I have evidence, to my mind conclusive, that it is determined to oppose the treaty and on the ground that it is unconstitutional.

The legislature, by this however—I mean only the House of Representatives, of S. Carolina,\* have declared agt. the treaty, but in terms more soft and mild than the original motion. The concurrence of the Senate was not requested, and because, as the friends of the measure declared, they were convinced it could not be obtained. This I learn from a letter to Wm. Smith from his cousin a member of the house. *Barnwell behaved nobly.* . . .

Yours affectly.

THEODORE SEDGWICK.

. . . Smith's correspondent states about 30 as having retired before the vote. Himself & Barnwell *Stuck by the Stuff.*

\* The action which was taken in this as in the Legislatures of several of the other States—some sustaining the treaty and others condemning it—is here referred to, as it is also in some of the other letters.—ED.

A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.

Jany., 1796.

MY DEAR SIR :

If the News Papers tell truth it would appear that Massachusetts has anticipated New York. But it is intended by our friends in the Legislature to give some pointed discountenance to the propositions. It was expected that it would have been done to-day, but by the divergings of some men, who seek popularity with both sides, they have gotten into an unnecessary debate over the proposition in detail, which will lose time, but in the result a handsome majority will do right.

*Lawrance* is hurt and as far as I see not without some reason from particular circumstances at being left out of the Direction of the Bank. It will be balm to his feelings to be put into the direction of the office here, and I believe it will be an improvement of the Direction to do it. I wish you would endeavor to bring it about. Speak to Bayard of our city and to Wharton of Philadelphia. This is a suggestion of my own, for *Lawrance* rather rides a high horse upon the occasion.

Yrs. truly,  
A. HAMILTON.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, 21st January, 1796.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

You did me justice in supposing that I confided in your friendship and zeal to promote my gratification. A confidence in the affection and esteem of those we love & respect is one of the choicest blessings of heaven, a distrust of a disposition in my friends to gratify wishes not in their opinion unreasonable, wou'd be the sorest mortification I could experience. Be assured I have not lost the former, or felt the latter.

A letter from Mr. Cabot by this mail requests an explicit answer by return of post whether, if invited, I woud engage as Commissioner and go very soon to England. My answer by this post is explicitly in the affirmative. I could settle my own affairs in one week. I shoud wish, and think it probable, that the Executive might choose, that I shoud visit Philadelphia and

receive the ideas of our own government on the manner of executing the commission. These things done, I know nothing to hinder my immediate embarkation for Europe.

Ames was in this town the day before yesterday ; he talks of proceeding to Springfield shortly, and from thence making an effort to meet his friends in Congress. He express'd a wish for me to accompany him, wh. I would readily have acceded to, if it were not for the indelicate state it woud place me in before an appointment of Commr. He acknowledged the weight of the objection. . . .

You will see in the papers Governor Adams' Speech which was received with almost universal disgust. The Senate has appointed a Committee wh. I think will respond not in unison with his Excellency. Two of the House's committee (the two branches answer separately) are deadly opposed to the Governor's sentiments : a third, I am of opinion, will not promote an echo : Jarvis and Ely will be disposed to any measures, regardless of their consequences. The disposal of the Virginia resolves, as related in the Centinel, is correct in every thing but the final vote of the house. After the question for commitment was lost, Doctr. Jarvis moved that they might lay on the table till the answer to the Govr's Speech was reported ; with great difficulty this obtained a majority of one only.

Our Senate and house are well disposed to the federal government, and it is more than probable that an effort will be made to displace Adams from the chair, and put Sumner in his stead.

With Sincerity and affection your friend

C. GORE.

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JOHN JAY TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 27 Jany., 1796.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Mr. Pinckney's success in Spain is an agreeable circumstance, and together with the Restoration of peace with Algiers and the Indians will tend greatly to compose and gratify the public mind.

Yours sincerely

JOHN JAY.

## JOHN JAY TO R. KING, PHILADELPHIA.

NEW YORK, 2d Feby., 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I was at this moment favd. with yours of the 29th ult., informing me that "Mr. Harper concurred in the Idea of printing by way of note my entire letter to him." My Idea was a short note referring to the letter, *subjoined* or annexed to the address.\* I have no objection to either mode, my object being that the first appearance of the Letter should be in or with his address, rather than in a newspaper ; for his objections to the latter mode appear to me well founded.

The ratification will bear a little longer absence. Things seem to work together for good. Are you apprized that the preliminary articles of the peace were ratified on a copy sent by Dr. Franklin ? I suspect that the original still remains among his private papers. A hint of this to Mr. Pickering may not be improper, that he may (if that be the case) take measures for getting and placing the original in the office. I think I once searched for it there and could not find it and that the fact is as I have suggested. It seems strange Mr. Adams should have been ordered to London to do nothing, but we see strange things in our Days. . . .

Yours sincerely

JOHN JAY.

## A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, March 16, 1796.

MY DR. SIR :

I thank you for your letter of the —

My opinion on the resolution, when it first appeared, was that the President should answer in substance as follows, viz.

"That it could not be admitted as a right of course in the House of Representatives to call for & have papers in the Executive department, especially those relating to foreign negotiations which frequently embrace confidential matter. That under all the circumstances & upon so indefinite a call without any

\* *Life of John Jay*, by William Jay, ii., 261. See letter written to Mr. Harper on his Address for approving the treaty with Great Britain—printed Boston, 1796.

declared specific object, he did not think it proper nor consistent with what he owed to a due separation of the respective Powers, to comply with the call. That if in the course of the Proceedings of the House, a question of their competency should arise for which any of the papers in question might be necessary, an application made on that ground would be considered with proper respect &c."

But after what has taken place in the discussion, if it can with propriety be got in as to form, I think a stand ought to be made by the President against the usurpation. The following propositions comprise an obvious ground.

I. The Constitution empowers the President with the Senate to make Treaties.

II. A treaty is a perfected contract between two nations obligatory on both.

III. That cannot be a perfected contract or Treaty to the validity of which the concurrence of any other power in the state is constitutionally necessary.

IV. The Constitution says a treaty is a law.

V. A Law is an obligatory rule of action prescribed by the competent authority. But

VI. That cannot be such a rule of Action or a *law* to the validity of which the Assent of any other power is requisite. Again

VII. The object of the *Legislative* Power is to prescribe a rule of Action for our own Nation, which includes foreigners coming among us.

VIII. The object of the Treaty Power is by agreement to settle a rule of action between two nations binding on both.

IX. These objects are essentially different and in a constitutional sense cannot interfere.

X. The Treaty Power binds the *will* of the nation, must within its constitutional limits be paramount to the Legislative Power, which is that will ; or, at least, the last *law* being a Treaty must repeal an antecedent contradictory law.

And XI. If the Legislative power is competent to repeal this law by a subsequent law, this must be the whole Legislative power by a solemn act in the forms of the constitution, not one branch of the legislative power by disobeying the law.

XII. The foregoing construction reconciles the two powers and assigns them distinguishable spheres of action. While

XIII. The other construction, that claiming that a right of assent or sanction for the House of Representatives, destroys the Treaty making Power & negatives two Propositions in the Constitution—to wit—I. that the President with the Senate are competent to make Treaties, II. that a Treaty is a Law.

On these grounds with the President's name a bulwark not to be shaken is erected. The propositions amount in my judgment to irresistible demonstration.

Yrs.

A. HAMILTON.

A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.

Ap'l 2, 1796.

Thank you for yours of yesterday. I have no copy of the paper sent. The greatest part went in the original draft, though considerably reformed according to joint ideas & somewhat strengthened by new thoughts. A letter I have received tells me that it came to hand after the ground which was acted upon had been formally considered in Council, and that it is referred for future use in the event of an expected criticism of the Message.

I have asked for it *conditionally* to secure correct, &c. If I get it you shall have a copy. But you must take care that there is no crossing of path.

Yrs. truly,

A. HAMILTON.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, 14 April, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR :

By the last mail, I received notice from the Sec'y of State that the President had appointed me one of the commiss'rs under the 7. art, of the treaty with Great Britain. . . . The President's answer has been universally pleasing here, some have become so enamoured with the thing that they have had it printed in white satin, and are having it framed and glazed. . . .

Your affectionate friend,

C. GORE.

## A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.\*

NEW YORK, April 15, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR :

A letter by yesterday's Post from our Friend Ames informed me that the Majority (57 concurring) had resolved in a private Meeting to refuse appropriations for the Treaty. A most important crisis ensues. Great evils may result unless good men play their card well & with promptitude and decision. For we must seize and carry along with us the public opinion ; and loss of time may be loss of everything.

To me our true plan appears to be the following (I suppose that a certain communication has been made).

1. The President ought immediately after the House has taken the ground of refusal to send them a solemn Protest. This protest ought to contain reasons in detail against the claim of the House in point of Constitutional right & ought to suggest summarily but with solemnity and energy the danger to the interests & Peace of the country from the measures of the House. The certainty of a deep wound to our character with foreign Nations, and essential destruction of their confidence in the Government, concluding with an intimation that in such a state of things, he must experience extreme embarrassment in proceeding in any pending or future negotiation which the affairs of the U. States may require, inasmuch as he cannot look for due confidence from others, nor give them the requisite expectation that stipulations will be fulfilled on our part.

A copy of this protest to be sent to the Senate for their information : the Senate by resolutions to express strongly their approbation of his principles, to assure him of their firm support, & to advise him to proceed in the execution of the Treaty on his part in the confidence that he will derive from the virtue and good sense of the people, constitutionally exerted, eventual & effectual support ; & may still be the instrument of preserving the Constitution, the Peace & the Honor of the Nation.

Then the merchants to meet in the cities and second by their resolutions the measures of the President & Senate, further

\* *Hamilton's Works*, vi., 103.

addressing their fellow citizens to co-operate with them. Petitions afterwards to be handed throughout the U. States.

The Senate to hold fast & consent to no adjournment till the expiration of the term of service of the present House unless provision be made.

The President to cause a confidential communication to be made to the British stating candidly what has happened, his regrets, his adherence nevertheless to the Treaty, his resolution to persist in the Execution so far as depends on the Executive, & his hope that the faith of the Country will be eventually preserved.

I prefer that the measures should begin with a Protest of the President, as it will be in itself proper & there will be more chance of success if the contest appears to be with him & the Senate auxiliaries, than in the reverse.

But in all this business celerity, decision & an imposing attitude are indispensable. The Glory of the President, the safety of the Constitution, the greatest interests depend upon it. Nothing will be wanting here. I do not write to the President on the subject.

An Idea has come from *Cooper* of an intention in our friends in the House of Representatives to resist the execution of the other Treaties, the Spanish & Algerine, unless coupled with the British. But this will be altogether wrong & impolitic. The misconduct of the other party cannot justify in us an imitation of their principles. 'Tis best I think that the freest course should be given to the other Treaties ; or at most, if a *feint* of opposition is deemed advisable, it ought to be left to the Senate by postponement &c. But even this is very delicate and very questionable.

Let us be *Right*, because to do right is intrinsically proper & I verily believe it is the best mean of securing final success. Let our adversaries have the whole glory of sacrificing the interests of the Nation.

Yrs. affectly.

A. HAMILTON.

P.S.—If the treaty is not executed, the President will be called upon by regard to the character of the public good to *keep his post* till another House of Representatives has pronounced.

## A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.\*

NEW YORK, April 18, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I thank you for your letter received to-day. Our merchants here are not less alarmed than those of Philadelphia, and will do all they can. All the insurance people meet to-day: the Merchants & Traders will meet to-morrow or the next day. A Petition will be prepared and circulated among the other citizens.

I regret that a certain communication was not made. Indeed I think the Executive will be hereafter blamed for keeping back the fact in so critical a posture of things.

Yrs truly

A. HAMILTON.

## A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.†

April 20, 1796.

DR. SIR :

Yesterday's Post brought me a letter from you which gave me pleasure. The papers will apprise you of the proceedings of the Merchants & Traders here on yesterday: there is among them also "unexampled unanimity," & as far as I can judge the current is in our favour throughout the City. Persons to-day are going through the different wards.

Yrs sincerely

A. HAMILTON.

P.S.—Our friends in the House will do well to *gain time*.

## A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.‡

April 23, 1796.

DR. SIR :

I have received your two letters and shall this day attend to the one which requires it. I see however no objection to it as it stands, and I do not now perceive how the further object you aim at could be accomplished in the manner you seem to desire.

\* *Hamilton's Works*, vi., p. 106.† *Ibid.*, p. 106.‡ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

I have written to *Ames* this day concerning the course of things in our city. He will communicate to you, as I have not time to repeat. We are decidedly well. But it is intended to-day to continue the Petition in circulation & to-morrow it will be sent. I thought it adviseable to publish an extract from your letter without naming you.

Yrs. truly

A. HAMILTON.

It is much to be regretted that the letters of Mr. King referred to in the above short notes of Mr. Hamilton, and which must have given some interesting facts as well as the views of Mr. King relative to the important questions under review, are not accessible, if they are in existence, Mr. J. C. Hamilton, in his *Works of Hamilton*, publishing those above, but not the answers to them. A search for them in the United States State Department among the Hamilton papers by Mr. Andrew H. Allen, Chief of Bureau of Rolls and Library, at the Editor's request, has been unsuccessful.

FISHER AMES TO R. KING, N. YORK.

PHIL., May 30, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I did not expect you would leave us before the end of the Session. Your sudden departure has deprived me of the opportunity I would have taken to give you my hand at parting. If I had enjoyed it, I could not have expressed all the esteem, good wishes, and real regrets I shall feel for you. I know you will not think it necessary, in order to make you convinced of my sincerity. It is, however, a pleasure to me, tho' it is a farewell, to assure you how ardently I shall ever take an interest in the increase of your reputation and happiness. I beg Mrs. King to accept my best respects—a good voyage—once more farewell.

Yrs

FISHER AMES.

I go south for three weeks.

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R. KING TO T. PICKERING.*Private.*

NEW YORK, June 1, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I omitted suggesting to you before my departure from Philadelphia an observation or two concerning our Consul at Ham-burgh. Our merchant ships may, without violating our national impartiality, be employed in the service of the belligerent Powers—if they engage in a service prohibited by the Law of Nations, and are detected, they incur the Penalty, and the conduct is not imputed to the nation. But where any officer of the Nation does an act, which in a private person wld. be prohibited by the Law of Nations, it is requisite in my opinion that on complaint the Nation to wh. such officer belongs shd. disavow the Act and punish the offender. I am inclined to think the conduct of Mr. Parish has afforded just cause of complaint, and that although he may be a worthy man he shd. be displaced. The step may be explained to him in a satisfactory manner. The party wh. complains is in a state of irritation—the conduct cannot be justified. A compliance with the Desires of those who complain will be politic. The point is not of sufficient importance to be made a serious and solemn question between the two Nations. Besides I suspect we shd. be put in the wrong. I hope you will see this subject in the light in which I view it—in itself it is of small importance, it may become of real consequence. Should the Consul be dismissed and the ground explained to him, he would feel little dissatisfaction if he is a man of sense—and after the Peace he might be re-appointed if it should be deemed advisable.

I am Dr. Sir your ob. St.

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO T. PICKERING.*Private.*

N. YORK, 7 June, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I do not remember to have conversed with Mr. Jay concerning the terms of the XII Article of the Treaty with Great Britain, which were intended to ascertain the articles of Import and Ex-

port to and from the W. In. Colonies. I have conceived that the Article would have secured to us a Right to carry thither every Article which *it is now lawful* to carry thither from the U. S. in Br. vessels—that the Catalogue of articles could not have been diminished : and moreover that we should have had a right to carry thither every other article, which might hereafter, and during the operation of the Stipulation, be lawfully carried there from the U. S. in Br. Vessels—the second paragraph secured to our vessels a right to export from these Colonies, only such Articles *as may now* lawfully be brought from thence to the U. S. in Br. vessels ; here again the Catalogue of articles could not have been abridged, but in case it had been enlarged in favor of Br. vessels, it is not obvious that we could have claimed a Right to receive and bring from thence in our vessels such additional articles ; and in this respect the stipulation appears unequal—whether this was accident or Design, I am at a loss ; probably the former. I have seen no sufficient reason to change an opinion that I thought well founded on the first appearance of this article ; which is that it would have been more plain as a rule of Conduct, and less likely to originate misunderstandings, and perhaps commercial losses, if instead of a reference to the Br. Statutes to find out the articles which might be imported and exported to and from the Br. W. Inds., the articles had been enumerated in the Treaty.

A clause might have been added which would have secured *to us* the advantages of any enlargement of the List of articles which the Br. Policy in future might have adopted.

Relative to Mr. Adams taking leave at the Hague, would it not be proper to intimate to the Government of the U. N. “ that circumstances interesting to the U. S. have induced the President to remove Mr. Adams from the Hague to Lisbon—that it is hoped this measure will be taken in good Part, and meet with the approbation of the Gov. of the U. N. for whom we entertain a sincere esteem and friendship, and in whose Prosperity and Happiness we take a lively concern—that it is the President’s intention to name a successor to Mr. Adams who will renew to the Govt. the assurances of the friendly attachment of the U. S. for the Batavian Republic.”

Some course like this will conciliate the Convention and will leave the President sufficient latitude in respect to the time of replacing Mr. Adams at the Hague.

I omitted to tell you in a line I wrote to you yesterday, that I have engaged my Passage in the ship *James*, Conckling Master, of this Port. She is an American Ship and Master, is not to take contraband of war nor Enemy Goods. She is to sail on the 19th instant. I have engaged to be ready by that Day. She is bound to London.

Farewell my dear Sir, I am very sincerely

Yr Obt. Servt.

RUFUS KING.

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WM. SMITH TO R. KING.

CHARLESTON, July 23d, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I did not leave Philad. till ten days after the adjt. and having a very tedious passage did not arrive here till the 1st inst, not in time to prepare, and scarcely in time to deliver my Oration, a copy of which I send you, with a curious advertisement of the Vender, who says that the works which have lately had the greatest run in town, are Paine's *Age of Reason* & Smith's Oration. You will smile at seeing any work of mine associated with Paine's & the heroic actions of the French.

Our unfortunate town has lately suffered much from fire ; the last, which occurred on the 13th of June, was very destructive, having swept away several whole streets, and consumed upwards of two hundred and fifty dwellings. The contributions have been very considble. here for the relief of the sufferers, & we understand that very generous aid will be furnished from New York, Philad. and some other cities. Many of our planters and Merchts. are extremely embarrassed by the great fall of produce. Mr. Izard, who refused a great price here & shipped a part of his crop, will probably lose near £3000.

He and his family are well. I need not inform you how much satisfaction he recd. from your appointmt. ; indeed I can assure

you it has met with general approbation here. . . . We have as yet no certain accot. of the President's intentions as to the next election. Before I left Philada., it seemed understood that Major Pinckney was to be joined with Mr. Adams. The friends of the former have been sounded about it, but as he is expected here soon, nothing definite has been concluded on.

Since the last session there has been a promotion in Congress ; Hillhouse, Goodhue and Sedgwick having succeeded to Ellsworth, Cabot and Strong, I am happy to find that Goodhue is elected for six years from next March. . . . The Treatophobia is completely cured here, and federal politics, when they engage the attention, excite generally approbation. Those who made such a ridiculous clamor last summer seem ashamed of themselves and are glad to throw a veil over what has passed. Mr. Rutledge, the late C. J., lives quite retired & avoids being seen ; his health is said to be mended. . . . I am, Dr. Sir, very sincerely yours &c.

WM. SMITH.

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G. CABOT TO R. KING, LONDON.

BROOKLINE, July 24, 1796.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

. . . I am in every sense so abstracted from the political world, that if my daily visitors did not talk over what passes in it, I should know nothing of its affairs ; *as one of the people*, however, I feel it my duty to say that we are well satisfied with our government, and perceive very plainly that it has done for us much better than we shou'd have done for ourselves, if we had followed our own humour. We understand this now pretty well throughout New England, and we generally agree, that in future we ought to think before we decide on public measures, or *reflection may come too late*.

The Gazettes inform us a Mr. Williams of Stockbridge and Saml. Sewall are nominated as the successors of Sedgwick and Goodhue, and I am told that Sewall will probably be carried. Indeed the present temper of the people is extremely favorable to the choice of good men. If poor *old Gorham* had not gone off,

I incline to the opinion that he might probably have been elected Senator, but I am well persuaded that no man of doubtful politics cou'd possibly have obtained the appointment. *Several* of the Gentlemen of *that description* very prudently declined being considered as candidates.

I was ready enough to anticipate the troubles of which you speak in a prophetic spirit, but on the whole there is no appearance that our serenity will be disturbed this season. Every thing without doors *looks well*, and if Wolcott cou'd only have a moment's use of the desideratum of the alchymists, every thing would *go well*. The cursed intrigues engendered by Americans at Paris and by Frenchmen in America have occasioned some anxiety among many lovers of our Country, but these projects are evidently failing, and it may be hoped that the time is not very distant when the cares of our Allies may be more confined to their domestic concerns. . . .

Truly your affectte. friend

GEORGE CABOT.

## CHAPTER VI.

Mr. King having been appointed Ambassador to England starts on his Mission—Responsibilities of a Minister at that Time, from Difficulty of communicating with his Government—Often obliged to act at once without waiting for new Instructions—Mr. Jay's Course in England left good Impressions for his Successor, which Mr. King was qualified and took pains to continue—His Arrival and Settlement in London.

We have seen in the correspondence which has been presented, that Mr. King, after continuous service in the councils of the nation for a period of twelve years, the last seven of which had been in the Senate, as a member from the State of New York, had determined to resign his position, having said in a letter to Hamilton, "You must know that I am not a little tired with this separation from my family and drudgery in the Senate."

During these years he had borne an active and intelligent part in perfecting the various measures adopted for the inauguration of the new government, his experience in the old Confederation eminently qualifying him to assist in putting into operation the new Constitution, in the formation of which he had been so prominent an agent. The different departments through which it was to operate, and the wise principles upon which, through the guidance and moulding hand of Hamilton, the financial affairs were to be conducted, had been firmly established, and the first steps had been taken to determine our relations with foreign countries by the commercial treaty with Great Britain. The government was still embarrassed by a faction at home which seemed to

be anxious to engraft upon the nation the wild schemes of French democracy and manifested a consequent hatred against England, due partly to her unwillingness or delay to fulfil her obligations under the treaty of peace. They considered the new treaty, as did the French Government, inimical to France, which used it as a ground for outrages upon our commerce and even for breaking off diplomatic relations.

There was much excuse for the dissatisfaction with England, because of her conduct towards us; for she too obstructed our commerce, especially with the West Indies, capturing American vessels and condemning them in the colonial courts, impressing seamen from our ships, and retaining her hold upon the forts on the western frontier, which she had agreed to surrender by the treaty of peace. A large number of the friends of the government and who had no great sympathy with France, was influenced by these considerations to demand from England a redress for the wrongs inflicted upon us, and could only be satisfied by the appointment of a minister to continue the negotiations who not only possessed a thorough knowledge of the history of his own country, was conversant with her resources and needs, understood the genius and character of her people, but was at the same time prudent, clear-headed, and intelligent, and thus able to cope with the practised statesmen of England, to present his country's claims with courtesy, tact, and firmness, and to render himself acceptable to the Court to which he was to be accredited.

The President could not but feel the responsibility that rested upon him, and, moved by the suggestion of Mr. Hamilton, was inclined to select Mr. King for the post. He hesitated, however, not because he had a doubt of his fitness for it, but that he feared, from "what has been said of his political sentiments with respect to another form of government . . . the interpretation which would be given to the nomination of him." His doubts were dispelled by the

letter of Mr. Hamilton, who said that such considerations should have no weight against his well known character. Mr. King then received the appointment of Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, resigned his seat in the Senate, and began at once to make the needful preparations to start upon his mission.

He was at this time in the prime of life,\* a man among men, of athletic form and graceful carriage, handsome of feature, as represented by Trumbull in his portrait of him, and dignified and courteous in address. His mind was well stored, conversant with the literature of ancient and modern times, which was always at his command whether in conversation or in debate. For twelve years he had mingled freely with the leading men of his own country, taking a large share of the burden which had made the nation what it was, and so accustomed to deal with the large questions which daily arise in the domestic and foreign affairs, which are the business of the nation, that he felt full confidence in himself in the new position to which he was called, and believed that he might do good service for his country and promote its welfare.

It may be here remarked that the responsibility of a foreign minister in the times which are now being considered, was far different from that in the present day, when instantaneous communication may be had between a minister and his government, and information sent to him at once to meet any modifications of the instructions given him, in order to meet new aspects of a question. During the period of Mr. King's mission and long afterwards a minister could rely only upon

\*Mr. William Sullivan, in the *Public Men of the Revolution*, p. 59, gives us his reminiscences of Mr. King in 1788, a few years before this :

"Rufus King at this time was about thirty-three years of age. He was an uncommonly handsome man in face and form ; he had a powerful mind, well cultivated and was a dignified and graceful speaker. He had the appearance of one who was a gentleman by nature and had well improved all her gifts. It is a rare occurrence to see a finer assemblage of personal and intellectual qualities cultivated to best effect than were seen in that gentleman."

general instructions, which could not provide for the rapidly changing events which, at that time, arose in the entangled affairs of Europe, requiring his immediate decision and action. He was often for months unable to exchange views with his government, and was compelled to act upon his own responsibility and judgment where delay or hesitation would have been prejudicial to his country's interest.\*

It is, therefore, an evidence of the wisdom of Mr. King's appointment, that although his residence in England continued eight years, under Washington, Adams, and, two of

\* Mr. Pickering, Sec'y of State, on the 27th July, 1796, says to Mr. King that as many questions have occurred and will continue to arise, in Mr. Bayard's agency for appeals and claims in behalf of American citizens, some of law and some of policy or expediency, the decision of which by reference to his department would cause delays and might be less depended upon than the legal opinions of the official American gentlemen on the spot—"I mean you, Mr. Gore and Mr. William Pinckney," he "has instructed Mr. Bayard to consult with the Commissioners (Mr. Gore and Mr. Pinckney) as to the measures he should adopt. With regard to questions of Policy or Expediency, those also can for the most part be best decided in the same manner. To postpone decisions of measures proper to be adopted, till advice can be sent and answers returned from hence, would generally be injurious by the delay, and often, probably, incur the loss of advantages to be secured only by prompt determinations. In great and extraordinary occasions, where the sanction of the President will be previously necessary, should any such occur, the delay will be unavoidable; in others you and the Commissioners will know when you may advise a proceeding, on a fair presumption of his approbation."

An extract from a letter of R. King, Jan'y 14, 1798, to the Secretary of State, shows that he felt the responsibility resting upon him, owing to the time which must elapse before he could receive instructions to meet new conditions constantly arising and requiring immediate attention and prompt decisions. "I shall consider this subject with attention and will exercise a discretion that the exigency seems to demand. It would certainly be more agreeable to me to have it in my power on all occasions, and especially on those of the highest moment, to find my duty in observing the well considered instructions of the President. But there sometimes occur, and more frequently at this period, than formerly, events so wholly unlooked for, that the subordinate agents of a nation may be called upon to act always with a sound and prudent discretion, in cases the decision of which belong to the highest department of the Government. While on the one hand I shall regret the existence of the occasion, I shall not hesitate on the other to do what, under its peculiar circumstance, shall appear to my judgment to be necessary to promote the national welfare."

them, under Jefferson, we find no instance in which he did not show a clear understanding of the questions under consideration, a large and comprehensive foresight, and a firm yet courteous presentation of the views of his government, winning at the same time the confidence of the different ministers with whom he had to deal in Great Britain; nor was his action ever overruled, nor its wisdom denied by his government at home. Indeed there is abundant evidence that his residence in London, surrounded as he was there, and intimate with the leading statesmen of the world, was used by him to raise the new country to a position of respect in the eyes of Europe, and to claim from other nations the consideration due to a power which knew its rights and was determined to maintain independence and firmness in dealing with them. He was but following the example of Mr. Jay, who, he said, had already laid the foundations for such respectful consideration.\*

Having received his instructions, Mr. King sailed on June 20, 1796, from New York in the ship *James*, Conckling master, both American. The vessel "took neither contraband of war nor enemy's goods" and sailed directly to London, where he arrived on the 23d of July, as he wrote to Mr. Low on August 1st,

"after a good passage, which we all found less disagreeable than we apprehended. I am unable to tell you any news, having been

\* Charles J. Ingersoll in his *Recollections* (Phil., 1861) says, p. 111 :

"I have heard Mr. King describe Mr. Jay's deportment in London as not only purely and firmly, but boldly and highly independent American."

JOHN JAY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

"NEW YORK, 4th of June, 1797.

" . . . My respect and esteem for your Lordship remain unabated, and I flatter myself with the pleasure of becoming a better correspondent. It will give you satisfaction to know that the letters I have received from Mr. King and Mr. Gore make honourable mention of the candour and good faith of your government. They both appear to be well pleased, and I am glad of it. . . ."  
—*Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay*, iv., 227.

wholly engaged since my arrival in those employments, which are usual on like occasions"; and on August 16th: "We do not yet feel ourselves settled, and when you see my friend the Judge, tell him, I find here no such house as I left in New York."

His family at this time consisted of his wife and four boys, the eldest eight years old, and his youngest brother Cyrus as his secretary. He was particularly attached to this brother, who had been carefully educated by him, was at the time preparing to enter the bar, and had given strong evidence of the high ability, which, in his subsequent career, made him a prominent man in the councils of the nation. It may here be said that he remained in London about a year, profiting in many ways by his association with his brother, and then returned to America to resume his studies.

There is little doubt that Mr. King's arrangements were much facilitated by his friends Mr. C. Gore and his wife, who had preceded him to England, the former as one of the Commissioners under the 7th article of the treaty with England. A house was taken at first at 18 Baker Street, where he remained some time; but by the beginning of the next year we find him established in Great Cumberland place, his residence during the time he passed in England. Through his friends, Mr. Richard Codman and Mr. J. Pitcairn, he purchased much of the china and glass for his table in Paris, as well as the French wines for his use, and thus began to prepare to take the place in social life which his own merits and his position as Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States entitled him to hold. It may here be mentioned that he soon found that the pay he received from the Government would not enable him to meet the demands upon him, and his correspondence with his friend and agent in New York, Mr. N. Low, shows that he was obliged to draw upon his private funds, which were ample for all his wishes. His letters, which follow, to Mr. J. Q. Adams and Col. Monroe show his kindly feelings to those who were in the diplomatic service of his country

and which, as will be seen, marked his intercourse with his fellow ministers during his residence abroad, and were manifested in return by them to him.

R. KING TO J. Q. ADAMS.

LONDON, July 24, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I arrived here last evening, and by a conveyance wh. our friend Mr. Hall informs me is perfectly safe, I send you a letter from the Department of State. I have only time to congratulate you on yr. appointment to Lisbon,\* and to assure you of the perfect esteem & respect with which I am, Dr. Sir, yr. ob. servt.

R. K.

WM. STRICKLAND TO R. KING.

YORK, July 29, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I have this day received an account of your arrival in England & take the liberty of congratulating you on the occasion.

The minds of each of our countries have for some time wished in your hands the appointment you now hold but despaired of seeing it accomplished, apprehensive that your presence would be too valuable in your own country for it to be there dispensed with ; fortunately it has proved otherwise and I am satisfied to the mutual advantage of our kindred countries.

I have much pleasure in the thoughts of renewing in this country an acquaintance commenced with so much satisfaction to myself on the other side of the Atlantic ; & shall therefore take the earliest opportunity of paying my respects to you whenever I come to London, but which I fear will not be before the next Spring, having left it not more than six weeks since. You will no doubt, while here, endeavour to see as much of the country as you can ; this I must strongly recommend to every one from the United States, who knows how to turn the many new objects he

\* Before Mr. Adams entered upon the duties of that office he was appointed Minister to Berlin.

would meet with to the benefit of his own country ; the Metropolis is the seat of pleasure & of Politics, but a just estimate of this country can only be formed by visiting the interior of it ; & there only can observation be made useful in numberless instances to the circumstances of America. Should you visit this place or the neighbourhood of it, before I have the pleasure of seeing you, be assured of my possessing the inclination to be of every service to you in my power & to assist you in obtaining the object of your researches or acquiring the information you may wish for ; it is the slightest return I can make for innumerable attentions received in your country & for the liberal and friendly reception I everywhere experienced & always acknowledge with pleasure.

I shall be happy to hear that you have had a pleasant voyage across the Atlantic, & all your family are arrived in good health ; and tho' I have not the Honor to be known to Mrs. King, I beg my respects to her.

I am, Dear Sir, with great esteem & respect, your very obedient & humble Servant.

WILLIAM STRICKLAND.

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R. KING TO COL. MONROE, PARIS.

LONDON, August 1, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

Mr. Pinckney having desired to return home, I arrived here a few days ago to relieve him. We sailed from New York on the 20th of June, but as your information through our countrymen, who are so frequently arriving from America, is probably as late or later I presume that I can tell you nothing new or interesting. . . .

I shall be happy to hear from you, and beg you to be assured that it will afford me peculiar pleasure to render you any service that my situation in this country will permit. . . .

R. KING.

## CHAPTER VII.

Mr. King enters upon his Duties as Ambassador—Presentation to the King—First Interview with Lord Grenville—Statement by Dr. Edwards of the Condition of Affairs in France—Appointment of Col. Trumbull as the fifth Commissioner under 7th Article of the Treaty—Mr. Monroe's Recall from France—Treaty of Peace with Algiers—Count De la Prade's Pretensions.

Mr. King in the following letter announces to the Secretary of State his arrival in London, his reception by the King, and his first interview with Lord Grenville :

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, August 10, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I arrived here on the 23d ultimo ; the King was in the course of a few days to go to Weymouth, where he spends the remainder of the summer. Finding it to be the desire of Mr. Pinckney that I should enter on my office without delay, I was in the course of the week that followed my arrival presented to the King and Queen.

My reception being in the usual manner, nothing occurred on the occasion that merits particular attention ; the King expressed his satisfaction with the prospect of a lasting friendship and harmony between the two countries, declared that he sincerely desired to live in friendship with the United States and that he would execute with the most scrupulous good faith the Treaty lately concluded with them.

Tho' this is a season when public men in this country consider themselves entitled to some relaxation from business, and most

of them are in the country not much disposed to be interrupted, yet I thought some parts of my instructions were so important and interesting, that I ought not to delay requesting a conference with Lord Grenville respecting them. I accordingly wrote him a note on the eighth instant, requesting him to appoint a time when I should wait on him for the purpose of making certain communications to him, relating as well to the suspended portions of the late Treaty, as to some other points that are mentioned in my instructions. He appointed the next day for the interview, when I communicated to him in a concise manner our ideas respecting the points \* of our conference. He heard me with attention, expressed the desire of this government to preserve harmony and good understanding with us, and said that as these were points of much consequence to their commerce and marine, he would faithfully state what I had said to his colleagues, with whom a conference would be requisite preparatory to any reply. The object of the meeting was to begin, and to make the principal points contained in my instructions. Speaking respecting the care of our Seamen, Lord Grenville expressed a wish that some notice had been given of our intention to send an agent for their protection to their West India Colonies; observing that the Governors of those colonies were not authorized to allow the residence of such a character, and that without instructions they might perhaps refuse to admit Mr. Talbot, an event, he said, that might excite unpleasant feelings on our part. I explained the course of this measure, and urged the importance of our having an agent in that quarter; intimating at the same time that an immediate instruction for Mr. Talbot's admission might arrive in season to prevent any disappointment to which we might otherwise be exposed.

Col. Trumbull is in France; he is expected here soon, but I am fearful that he will be unwilling to accept the agency for the protection of our seamen. This I shall regret, as from a recent arrangement, application for the discharge of our seamen, detained on board the British ships, which have formerly been made by our Consuls, must soon go through my hands. I hope to be able to prevail on Col. Trumbull to accept the ap-

\* Appendix III.

pointment and continue to act until the President can appoint another person. . . .

With great respect,

R. KING.

Mr. T. Pickering, Secretary of State, in his letter of August 8, 1796, says to Mr. King :

“ Our Treaty with Spain was promptly ratified, and the ratified copy has been received here a few days since from Spain. By this time all the British posts must have been delivered up to the troops of the United States, except perhaps the remote one of Michilimackinac. The deliveries, so far as we have received intelligence have been made in the most handsome manner on the part of the British.”

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R. KING TO COL. MONROE, PARIS.

LONDON, August 11, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I avail myself of Mr. Tudor's visit to Paris to inform you that a few days since a paper was published in the English Gazettes, purporting to be a letter from the Directory to Mr. Barthelemi, in which the French government announces their intention to stop the cargoes of all neutral vessels bound to the English ports, and assigns as the cause and justification of this measure a recent order of the British government to stop the cargoes of all neutral vessels bound to French ports. Though I was not ascertained of the authority of this paper, yet considering its importance to our commerce, I applied to this government for information whether any such order had been issued, and I was assured in reply that no such order exists, and that no new order has been issued on this subject. I expect that it will be in my power in a day or two to send you a precise and formal document on this point ; in the meantime I could not excuse myself from giving you the earliest information in my power relative to a measure so truly afflicting, should the paper in question prove genuine.

I am &c.,

R. KING.

The following statement is in Mr. King's handwriting :

DOCTOR EDWARDS, August 19th, 1796.

Dr. Edwards\* called on me yesterday with Mr. Pinckney, having arrived the day before from France—he spoke of the dissatisfaction towards the U. S. which was entertained by and influenced the Government of France—that Mr. Monroe had conducted with fidelity towards the U. S., that he had vindicated the measures of our Government, and, though he did not like the Treaty, that he had contended that in no respect it violated our Treaty with France—that the Government there were elevated with their successes, and said though we might not have broken the Treaty, that nevertheless by the late Treaty with England, we had broken our Friendship with France—that the late order for stopping neutral vessels was aimed in a great measure against England—that however they were disposed to treat us not as an

\* Through the assistance of Mr. F. D. Stone, Librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the editor has been enabled to identify Dr. Edwards with Dr. Evan Edwards, of Philadelphia.† He was born in 1757, and received a classical and medical education, was an earnest participant in the Revolutionary war, and especially during the British occupation of Philadelphia, having been an aide to Lord Stirling. After the war he held many important positions in Pennsylvania, and was a Judge from 1791 to the time of his death in 1802.

*Fremno's Gazette* is quoted, saying :

"He possessed talents which eminently qualified him for a public station, a sound understanding, good sense improved by habits of reading and reflection, an intimate knowledge of mankind, incorruptible integrity with popular and engaging manners. . . . His affable and amiable manners and cheerful conversation . . . procured him the esteem and good-will of all who conversed with him." Mr. Charles Biddle, in his *Autobiography*, p. 309, gives an interesting account of him. He was very sick in Paris, and spoke in the warmest terms of the kindness of those who cared for him, wondering how these people—French—could "be guilty of crimes so disgraceful to human nature. It has often been said that Mr. Monroe encouraged Thomas Paine to write the infamous letter he sent to Genl. Washington. The Doctor often told me that Monroe sent him to Paris, and did everything in his power to prevent his sending or publishing that letter. Paine told him that anything Mr. Monroe wrote, it was of no consequence whether it was suppressed or not, but what he wrote was for posterity."

† *Penn. Magazine*, ii., p. 74 ; also ix., p. 325 ; Miss Sally Wister's Journal

Enemy but as a Nation who had shown a Preference for their rival & Enemy—I met Dr. Edwards in the city to day and walked home with him—the Temper of France towards our Country was again the Topic of conversation. He said T. Paine had been writing a Book agt. the President—that Monroe, while T. P. was in his House, expressed his disapprobation of the measure, and that Paine immediately removed to other Quarters—that the work was very abusive,—he had seen it, and a young Virginian who came over with him from Havre had the Copy, which he was charged to deliver to Bache for Publication—that in a conversation he had with the Members of the Directory, speaking of their sentiments respecting America, he attributed all the circumstances of coldness and caution respecting which they complained, to the operations of Genet ; Reubell replies that undoubtedly there was the first Error ; but Barras said perhaps it was to be regretted that Genet had been recalled—that Monroe had been much respected—that he was believed to be honest, frank, and a zealous friend of the French ; that for a Time he rec'd marks of Preference and Distinction, but that latterly such was the temper towards us, that his situation was less agreeable—that at a Dinner given by La Croix to the foreign Ministers, he gave out, turning to Del Campo (of Spain) our new ally, and to the Prussian ambassador, our old and faithful ally, that Monroe suspected T. Paine of having done him an injury with the Directory—that he was therefore on bad terms with Paine ; that La Croix expressing his Disapprobation with us observed, that they had no intention of treating us as an Enemy ; once he said they had resolved to send an Envoy Extray. to demand certain explanations, and, in case they were not satisfactory, to immediately withdraw—that this Project was abandoned, and they had resolved to permit their resident Minister Adet to return home, and to leave with us a Chargé des Affaires to take care of their People and Concerns in our Country.

Doct. Edwards mentioned various circumstances to shew the haughtiness of the French, flushed as they were with Victory—the refusal of the Swedish Chargé des Affaires, the sending away the Tuscan Minister, and the language they held on the subject of peace and particularly of a Peace with England—he said that Monroe had been made uneasy with the declar'on of a Character

supposed to be confidential, or employed by Reubell of the Directory—who lately intimated to Monroe, that the Directory had been deceived by his Representations of the Temper & Dispositions of our Country—that Monroe suspected T. Paine, with having been the source of the Information that had led the Directory to doubt his Representations, that he had applied to Reubell and his Colleagues on the Subject, and asked whether T. Paine had given them Information contradictory to the Representations—that he had not been perfectly satisfied on this Point—that in conversation concerning their temper towards us he had said that it would disserve them, that every country has its Parties, that this was the case in America—that the Friends of France must be silent, or join those of England, if France persisted in an unfriendly conduct towards us——

After a desultory conversation on these points—he spoke of Monroe having formerly been much influenced by Hichbon; that he had finally suspected & thrown him off—that Hichbon spoke of the corrupt Character of some of his countrymen, and of the application of English Money to procure an influence in America, that he himself had been Offered a Bribe & that the Money and Offer came from Lord Dorchester.

That Monroe was made uneasy by a Report that his political Opponents were combining to Effect his Recall—that he hated Jay & Hamilton, especially the former, concerning whom he told a story of his having very soon after Monroe coming into Congress, in a private conversation attempted to engage him to concur in a Proposal of appointing a committee of Congress to instruct him Jay respecting the negotiation of the sp. treaty; the Object of wh. was to shut up, as Monroe supposes, the Mississippi—that he from that moment suspected Jay's integrity & Patriotism—that he made a memorandum of the overture in his Diary, and showed it to Henry Lee who would now recollect it—&c. &c.—

Dr. Edward's idea respecting the Order agt. the neutral commerce seemed to be this—the Commerce of Amer. centres in G. B.—it is of immense consequence to that nation—Fr. cannot affect G. B. in any way but by assailing her commerce—if she can shut her out from the various Ports of Europe she will severely wound her—if she can moreover embarrass her Commerce with

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America, she may do her a still greater injury—The order therefore is more aimed against G. B. than America &c. &c. Speaking of the President he said he was truly unpopular in France—that the conduct of G. Morris had paved the way to his unpopularity—that when G. M. was recalled, Monroe carried him a private Letter from the President, which was delivered to Morris at a Dinner where there was much Company, and several Members of the Government—that G. M. publicly read the Letter in which the President told him that his recall arose from no dissatisfaction that he had with his Conduct—but because the french Govt. had requested it—that besides, the Directory had a letter from the Pr. to G. M. which had been intercepted, and wh. was written after the Ratification of the Treaty with England, in which he says “so desirous have we been to preserve our Neutrality and remain at Peace, that though he disapproved of some parts of the Treaty he had ratified it—that he hoped this conduct would have its Effect in procuring to us the friendship of England, and he wished G. M. to let Lord Grenville know his Opinions in this respect.”

August 30th, 1796.

Mr. Pinckney told me that conversing with Doctr. Edwards, he told him that inasmuch as he did not on his way through France to Spain, solicit the aid of the french Government in the negotiation with Spain, they had revoked an instruction which had been given to their Minister at Madrid to facilitate our wishes—that they were displeased with the Treaty and said that it sacrificed *their Interest*—Mr. Pinckney said he did not ask the interference of France, because he supposed them displeased with our having concluded a Treaty with England.

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R. KING TO N. LOW.

August 16, 1796.

We do not yet feel ourselves settled and when you see our friend the Judge, tell him, I find here no such house as I left in New York. I dare not write to you respecting politics, because I can form no conjectures that are entitled to any consideration. . .

By a letter of the 24th of July from Paris, I am informed that our fellow citizens so long held in captivity at Algiers have been released and have arrived at Marseilles: through the same channel we learn that the American Schooner *Eliza* captured by the Tunissians has been given up. Mr. Barber employed for that purpose by Col. Humphries having effected a treaty with the Bey, previous to her capture.

Yours &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON. \*

LONDON, August 25, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

It would have been agreeable to this government, if we could have agreed to the appointment of Doctor Swabey as the Commissioner; he is really a very candid and honorable man. But for the same reason that we could not satisfy the Commissioners on the part of Great Britain with the appointment of our countryman, Colonel Trumbull, an equally candid and honorable character, they have been unable to convince us, that under all circumstances, it would be advisable that we should accept Doctor Swabey.

The utmost propriety of conduct has been shown on both sides; and out of several names proposed by each, the British Commissioners selected Colonel Trumbull, and our Commissioners Doctor Swabey, as the names to be put in the urn. The lot has decided in our favor, and Colonel Trumbull, who is on the spot, is the fifth Commissioner.† The Board being now complete, will proceed to business without unnecessary delay.

Knowing the immense importance of this Commission to our Commerce and navigation, I take the earliest opportunity to give

\* *Works of Hamilton*, vi. p. 146.

† In the treaty with Great Britain, negotiated by Mr. Jay, two of the Articles provided for the adjustment of claims by private individuals against the two Governments, the sixth Article for claims preferred by Englishmen against the United States, and the seventh, by American citizens against England. The claims were to be adjusted by five Commissioners under each Article, two of each set to be chosen by the respective Governments and the fifth by lot cast by the four. Those under the sixth Article were to sit in Philadelphia, those under

you this information. The surrender of the posts which has taken place, and the very explicit assurances that I have received from the highest authority in that nation, of a resolution to carry into effect the treaty, with the most scrupulous fidelity, make me anxious that nothing should take place on our part, that would furnish even a pretence, much less a justification, for arresting the further and complete execution of the treaty. The very extraordinary situation of Europe at this moment, should inspire us with great caution, and those whose property depends on the treaties being permitted to go into full effect, should feel and be influenced by this reflection. Farewell, &c.

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T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Aug. 29, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I beg your care to transmit the inclosed Letter to Mr. Monroe. The object of it is to inform him of his recall, of which it is desirable to give him notice, prior to the arrival of his successor. Mr. Monroe's own communications in February and March last laid the foundation of his recall. They manifested the great uneasiness existing in the French government in relation to the United States, especially on account of the Treaty with Great Britain. His former letters had predicted this consequence of the Treaty ; and the good reception of Mr. Fauchet, who left this country with strong prejudices against it, was likely to aggravate every cause, real or imaginary, of dissatisfaction on the part of France. The necessity of obviating complaints, of stating facts, of explaining the conduct and declaring the principles of the American government had been apparent ; and for these purposes Mr. Monroe had been amply furnished with documents, the last of which he acknowledged, in his letter of December 6, 1795,

the seventh, in London. The Commissioners under the sixth Article were Thomas Fitzsimons, and James Innes, who died, Samuel Sitgreaves being appointed in his place, Americans, and Thomas McDonald and Henry Pye Rich, with John Guillemand, the fifth, Englishmen. Those under the seventh Article were Christopher Gore and William Pinkney, Americans, and John Nickoll and James Anstey, afterwards Maurice Swabey, Englishmen—John Trumbull being the fifth. The history of these Commissions will appear in the correspondence.

that he had received. Yet he appears to have been perfectly silent, until on the 15th of February last he was alarmed by a project of the Directory, announced to him by the Minister, M. De La Croix, to send an Envoy Extraordinary to this Country. This he endeavoured to prevent and manifested his readiness to vindicate his Government. He had an audience of the Directory; and the project was suspended to give an opportunity to receive their complaints and make his answer. The result was not received here until the 18th July, in a letter from Mr. Monroe, dated the 2d of May. But this only covered M. De La Croix's statement of complaints and Mr. Monroe's answer; the effect of the latter remained to be learnt. The objections made were feeble and perhaps we may hear no more of them. But the dissatisfaction and uneasiness produced by Mr. Monroe's Letters of February and March, concurring with divers other causes, had determined the President early in July to recall him. The President immediately wrote to General Pinckney, requesting him to accept the mission to Paris. He has accepted; and is daily expected here from Charleston.

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R. KING TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE. \*

Sept. 8, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

Mr. Trumbull's appointment as the fifth Commissioner in the capture question has prevented his acceptance of the agency for the relief and protection of our seamen. His duties must devolve on me for the present; and, I hope by a careful attention to the cases that shall come to my knowledge assisted by the several Consuls, whose vigilance on this subject is great and meritorious, that I shall be able to relieve many of our countrymen from the hardships and injustice to which they continue to be exposed. If I shall find occasional aid requisite for the purpose of extricating any of our seamen detained on board the British Ships of War, I

\* It should be stated that the correspondence with the Secretary of State which is given in these volumes is contained in the Letter Books of Rufus King, and consists of press copies from the letters, while that with foreign ministers and other official persons is either in the original letters from them or copied answers to them.—ED.

shall not hesitate to compensate the persons I may employ out of the money destined for this Service.

A practice has prevailed among our Consuls to grant Certificates of Citizenship, or Protections as they are called, to our seamen and I am informed that they have been efficacious in securing those who possessed them from Impressment. Some abuses are unavoidable, and it is said have been discovered ; in consequence of which these consular Certificates have in some instances been disregarded, and in a late conference with Lord Grenville, he asked me whether our Laws, or the President's Instructions gave to our consuls authority to grant these certificates ; observing that it was not within the ordinary Functions of Consuls to issue Documents of this nature. Perceiving the importance of this enquiry, I told his Lordship that I would enquire concerning the authority of our Consuls, & give him an answer as soon as I should have obtained satisfactory information respecting it. The Fees taken for these Certificates may have some influence in rendering the Consuls less critical than would be proper in the examination of Evidence ; but no complaint of this nature has been made, and as the Practice of granting these Certificates is not peculiar to our Consuls, but common with the consuls of other nations, and our Sailors are frequently found here without a certificate of citizenship, whereby they are exposed to impressment, I cannot take upon myself to instruct the Consuls to discontinue the practice, though I should find no positive law or instruction that authorizes it.

With perfect respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO B. WOLCOTT, JR., ESQ.

*Private.*

LONDON, Sept. 9, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

Col. Humphries having authorized Mr. Donaldson \* to draw on the Mess. Barings for Sterling sufficient to purchase at Leghorn 400,000 Dollars, and Donaldson having drawn for a part

\* Mr. David Humphreys, United States Minister to Portugal, was authorized to make a treaty of peace with the Dey of Algiers, in the manner customary in those days. During an absence, Mr. Donaldson, who had been left by him in

and given notice that he should probably draw for the whole of that sum, Mess. Barings after sending me a statement explaining the probable deficiency of the public money in their hands, a copy of which is enclosed, asked my opinion whether they should pay Donaldson's drafts for a greater sum than the estimated amount of the public money in their hands. They manifested no disinclination to make the advance should it be requisite, but desired advice. As Col. Humphries is fully empowered on this subject and has authorized Donaldson to draw, I told Mess. Barings that I thought it advisable that they should pay Donaldson's drafts, adding that I was convinced their conduct would be approved and the advance which they might make faithfully reimbursed by the U. S. They will pay the drafts should they exceed the funds appropriated for this object ; I mean the amount of their sales added to the estimated value of the unsold stock in their hands.

I intimated to Sir Francis Baring a wish that the sale of the residue of the stock might not be forced, especially at a time of such general depression in the prices of all Funds. I understood him that they could without inconvenience make the requisite advance and that the 6 pr. cents unsold would not be sold under 90 for 100, without consulting you on the subject. I hope the Algerine Treaty may finally be effected, though hitherto it has been attended with a series of disasters. The low price of Stocks here and the high price of dollars at Leghorn make the present operation a very unfavorable one.

Though it is no relief, it is an argument against bad management to know that great embarrassments accompany all money operations at this period. Even here great difficulties are encountered and burthensome terms submitted to to make their loans.

Farewell yrs. very truly & sincerely

RUFUS KING.

Algiers, concluded on the 5th September, 1795, a treaty of peace with the Dey, by which a payment of about 800,000 dollars was to be made in cash, besides an annual tribute, and goods to the value of \$24,000 a year. The treaty was ratified by the United States and the money had to be borrowed by a sale of bonds for \$800,000 through the Messrs. Barings in London. The allusions in this letter and in several others refer to this transaction. Before the Dey was satisfied, an agreement was made to give him a frigate and more money.—ED.

Le Cte. de la Pråde having on the 17th September, 1796, written to Mr. King a letter stating his services to the United States, that he had been made a member of the Cincinnati, that he proposed returning to the United States, and asking him certain questions based upon these statements, was answered as follows :

R. KING TO LE CTE. DE LA PRÂDE.

LONDON, Sep. 18, 1796.

SIR :

I have recd. the letter you did me the honor to write to me on the 17th instant, and regret that my answers to your enquiries will be less satisfactory and agreeable to you, than I could wish them. The members of the Society of Cincinnatus do not receive any pensions from the U. S. ; indeed no person is allowed a pension except such officers and soldiers as are disabled by wounds received in war. The Military Establishment of the U. S. has always been small & since the peace lately made with the Savages, this establishment has been made less ; so that no vacancies exist either in the infantry or cavalry. The U. S. have lands for sale, and at moderate prices ; but they do not grant any lands gratuitously ; neither do they supply or defray the Expenses of Passages to foreigners inclined to become American Citizens.

With great respect &c

RUFUS KING.

## CHAPTER VIII.

French Order against neutral Vessels—Mr. Monroe's Statement relative to it—Complaints against British Cruisers—Washington declines a Re-election—Mr. Adet's Reception in Boston—M. de Liancourt's Opinion of French Designs on Neutrals to destroy British Power—R. King's Letter to Messrs. Baring relative to the Funds for Barbary Purposes—To Mr. Bayard relative to the Costs in Cases of Claims decided by the Admiralty Courts—To Mr. Monroe, Report that Genl. Pinckney had been appointed to succeed him in Paris—Letter to Mr. Pitcairn relative to the French Debt—Negotiations with England at a Standstill—American Affairs—Secretary of State on Impressments—Washington's Address—Letter from R. King to him on European Affairs.

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.\*

LONDON Sept. 10th, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I received this morning a letter from Mr. Monroe, dated Paris, August 28th, of which the following is an extract :

"As soon as the order of this government, as notified by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to Barthelemi, the present ambassador at Basle, appeared in the papers, for it was never notified to the foreign Ministers here, I applied for information whether orders were issued for the seizure of neutral vessels, stating equally as the motive of my application a report, apparently well authenticated, that one of our vessels had been lately taken near our own coast ; and was informed, that no such order was issued, and further, that none such could be, in case the British did not seize our vessels. I am happy to give you this information, because I flatter myself the knowledge of this fact may be useful in respect to our commerce with the country in which you reside.

\* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 150.

I have in a former letter told you that the British government deny that any order has been lately issued, or that any order exists, authorizing the seizure of neutral cargoes bound to the French ports, as was alleged to be the case in the letter from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to Barthelemi."

The foregoing extract is all I know from Mr. Monroe respecting the resolution of the French government, communicated by their Minister of Foreign Affairs to their ambassador at Basle, you will have seen the letter to Barthelemi, which is undoubtedly authentic; and you have now what Mr. Monroe reports as the result of his application on the subject; I make no comments nor inferences. You have the materials, and can make your own interpretations.

Very sincerely yours

RUFUS KING.

This same extract was communicated to the Secretary of State, and is referred to in his letter of Oct. 26, 1796, to Mr. King.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Sep. 22, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

In this letter relative to complaints of injuries and insults from the British Naval officers, and a fresh one, of which he encloses affidavits and protests, Mr. P. says "It must be painful to you to receive such repeated complaints of this kind, and unpleasant to lay them before the British ministers; but their number and frequency may serve to rouse them to some exertion to prevent a continuance of such outrages, while a few solitary instances might be passed over in silence . . . You will make such use of information of the kind here presented as you shall think most likely to produce a remedy for the evil. . . ."

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JOHN LAWRENCE TO R. KING, LONDON.

NEW YORK, Sept. 24, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR :

We have heard of your arrival, and having had a closet audience. . . . Nothing material has happened, relative to your

Friends here, since your departure, or on political matters ; except the address of the President, who declines another election. His address contains very good advice, and, if followed, will make our Country a great and happy one. Indeed we enjoy peculiar felicity at present, and every day adds to our prosperity. It is said Mr. Adams and Mr. Pinckney will be voted for on one side ; on the other Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr are mentioned. You can determine as well as myself, who, it is probable, will be the successful persons. We are all well. Mrs. Lawrance joins me in best wishes for Mrs. King's health, and all with you.

Yours very truly,

JOHN LAWRENCE.

GEORGE CABOT TO R. KING, LONDON.

BROOKLINE, Sept. 24, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR :

The public papers announced to us the day before yesterday your safe arrival in England and your presentation at Court. . . .

A Mr. Maund of Virginia who is here and seems to be well informed is very confident that Patrick Henry will come into the Senate in Mason's place at the next election. He also strengthens our hope that a strong party is formed in that State in favor of government, & which in future will be active. You will see by the newspapers that Mr. Adet was yesterday entertained at Concert Hall ; altho' he associates with Jacobins only, yet the friends of order were the promoters of this measure. As I go to town scarcely once in a month, I was not apprized of the intention of our friends until it was in execution ; but I was extremely mortified to see this sort of testimonial in favor of french politics given by the best citizens, when it is known that the undue influence of that nation among the people already endangers the union and government of the U. S. I wish Mr. Adet to receive all the individual attentions which hospitality can require, but I consider Ox Feasts as acts of supererogation and as tending to confirm in the minds of the people erroneous opinions, which are extremely mischievous.

A few days ago Mr. Liancourt assured me that as soon as the french had subdued the Emperor and given peace to Germany,

they intended to cut up the roots of the british power (their commerce and manufactures). He says they are resolved "that all ships of whatever nation wheresoever from, or whithersoever bound, having on board any of the products or manufactures of the british dominions, shall be captured, and such product or manufacture (at least, if not the vessel) confiscated." I told him such an outrage on the rights of nations wou'd render the french universally detested & wou'd confirm to all the world, what many already believe, that they are animated by the most vindictive and daring spirit that ambition had ever engender'd. He acknowledged his fears that the measure wou'd be deemed extraordinary & that it wou'd be unjustifiable if there were any better way of destroying the English. This inveterate hatred of the English, increased by the pride of conquest is now the strongest passion frenchmen feel, and if their successes continue must occasion serious inquietudes among the English. Is it therefore possible that this nation shall disdain to engage in its defence every auxiliary in its power? I have always thought that the true policy of England wou'd be to invite every neutral nation to a participation of its commerce *during the war*, by which means her trade wou'd be uninterrupted, & she wou'd be enabled to man a navy sufficient to annihilate the marine of *all her enemies*. This expedient too long neglected might even now be resorted to with advantage. It is intimated by English emigrants in this country, that Mr. Pitt will find it difficult to procure money sufficient to maintain the contest : Is it so?

Your sincere & affectte. friend

G. CABOT.

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R. KING TO MESSRS. I. & F. BARING & CO.

LONDON, Oct. 6, 1796.

GENTLEMEN :

I have received with much satisfaction the information you have been so obliging as to give me respecting your agency in the application of the funds placed in your hands for Barbary purposes. And though this business exclusively belongs to Col. Humphries, yet as a Servant of the U. S. I think it due to the occasion to express to you my approbation of the liberal and

skillful manner in which you have assisted Col. Humphries in a very critical operation. I have written to the Secretary of the Treasury on this subject and shall communicate to him the assurances that I have given to you of my conviction that the U. S. will entertain a proper sense of your Services in this Business and moreover make speedy dispositions to re-imburse any advances you shall make on this account.

Should it finally appear requisite to advance a greater sum than we have heretofore thought probable, I flatter myself that you will be able to make such arrangements as will obviate any disappointment, which at this stage of the Business might hazard all that has been already done.

Although a sale of the stock, in the present depression of the market, would be somewhat unpleasant in reference to the credit of the U. S., yet that must be done, rather than risque the refusal of any of the drafts which Donaldson may have negotiated in the course of his agency. I hope however that his drafts will not be found to exceed the Estimate that we have heretofore made of their amount.

With perfect regard &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO S. BAYARD, Esq.

LONDON, Oct. 6, 1796.

SIR :

I perceive by Mr. Slade's letter to you and by the papers you left with me some time since, that he has furnished you with the amount of several Bills of costs, in cases stated to have been finally decided in the Admiralty, and likewise that most of the many causes that you have confided to his care, are or soon may be at a stage in their progress, at which he expects a further advance of Eighty Pounds sterling in each. As the payment of a single Bill will constitute a precedent for all future cases, it appears to me proper, before such precedent is made, that the items and regularity of the Bill should be critically examined. I therefore desire that you will receive from Mr. Slade the Bills of costs in such cases under his management as have been terminated, and that you will transmit them to me in order that I may make such enquiries respecting them as may be requisite.

The public money at my Disposal applicable to various objects does not amount to a sum sufficient to satisfy even the expectations of a single Proctor. I have however advanced to you one Thousand pounds Sterling, which you will apportion among our Proctors according to the number of cases in their respective hands, having regard to the stage in which they are. These payments should be made on account and without being applied to any particular cases or classes of cases. This will be productive of no inconvenience to the Proctors and will give time to consider and decide the manner in which the Business must ultimately be conducted.

No precise understanding exists on the subject of the Expenses which attend the prosecution of the claims of our citizens in the Courts of Admiralty. In most instances the public have, & will probably continue to advance the money that may be requisite. Though under all circumstances such advances may be reasonable, it appears to me just, that ultimately these advances should be re-imbursed by the claimants. Where the costs are paid by the Captors, the claimants have no title to them, except to repay the public advances. Where the costs are charged upon the claimants, it must be on the principle of their delinquency; and for that reason they ought to be paid by them and not by the public. In these cases, however, we have no means in our power to recover such costs; except in the instances of a restoration of the Property claimed and a condemnation of the claimants in costs. In such cases, as well as in all cases where the property is restored and the captors condemned in costs, it will be in your power to retain sufficient to reimburse the public advances. This I think it will be proper that you should do.

With much esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO COL. MONROE.

LONDON, Oct. 7, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I was extremely sorry to receive the information contained in your last letter, that there was reason to believe that the French Government has, contrary to the stipulations of our Treaty, issued

orders to their cruizers & Corsairs to seize Enemy goods on board American vessels. These orders are the more extraordinary since they are excused by no circumstance of necessity and as they violate the Doctrine that free Bottoms make free Goods, at a period when France proclaims herself the friend of liberal commerce and the advocate of the Freedom of the seas. The injury that the enemies of France may experience by the execution of these Orders will be small indeed : but the Damage and mischief to her Friends, and especially to the U. S. will be great and serious. These orders furnish to private cupidity a Pretence for the interruption and spoliation of our Trade, which France, as our Friend, cannot desire to see, and which must prove extensively mischievous to our Navigation and Commerce. I hope my dear Sir, that those representations that I am persuaded you have made, to demonstrate the impolicy and injury of this measure, will induce the Revocation of the Orders, if they have in fact been issued.

I mention to you a report which is in circulation here among some of our countrymen, because you may possibly hear of it, and think it singular that I had given you no information on the subject. It is for this reason only that I am induced to communicate to you a Rumour that General Pinckney of S. Carolina. has been appointed to succeed you at Paris. I have letters from Mr. Pickering as late as the 15th Aug., and likewise from several friends in different parts of America, and in no one letter have I the slightest intimation of General Pinckney's appointment or of a change being meditated in our Legation to France. Mr. Pinckney my predecessor, who is still here or rather on the sea side waiting for his ship, knows nothing of his Brother's having been appointed and has heard only the London rumour to which I have alluded above.

With Sentiments of Esteem & respect, &c.,  
RUFUS KING.

R. KING to J. PITCAIRN, PARIS.

LONDON Oct. 9, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

. . . You have been erroneously informed, when you were told that a portion of the debt we owed to France has been paid

in *assignats*. I am at a loss to conjecture to what circumstance such an opinion owes its origin. The instalments and interest were regularly paid, and *in solid coin* ; and we made advances both to Mr. Genet and Mr. Fauchet by way of anticipation of future instalments, when the demands of France were pressing, and often with much inconvenience to ourselves. In the year 1794 Congress passed a Law to domesticate, if I may so say, the foreign debt, or so much of it as the foreign Proprietors should be willing to change from a foreign to a domestic debt, the annuities in which, and the final reimbursement whereof, should be payable at the Treasury of the United States.

Under this Law in June or July 1795, Mr. Swan came forward with full powers from the French Government to subscribe the whole of the remaining instalments of the debt due to them—amounting to something over 2. Mills. of Dollars—and a new stock bearing an interest of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for as much as bore an interest of 5 pr. cent. and  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , for as much as bore an interest of 4 p. c. was offered to Mr. Swan, who I presume has sold the same for cash to satisfy such engagements as he had entered into for the French Government. This was a measure of choice on the part of France. The instalments would together with the interest have been regularly paid as they fell due. France preferred to change this shape of the debt, for one bearing a half per cent. higher interest, and possessing a transferable quality—we were willing to make this change with respect to the French debt, as well as the whole foreign debt, because instead of foreign commissions and expensive remittances, which would be requisite to discharge the annuities and reimburse the capital of the foreign debt, we pay both at our Treasury after it is changed to a domestic debt. It is possible that the discharge of what remained of the French debt in 1795, by issuing to the agent Mr. Swan  $5\frac{1}{2}$  and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. certificates of stock, may be what you heard called a payment in *assignats*—but this is unfair and unfounded—We were bound to pay by instalments ; we did regularly pay as fast as pay day arrived. This was not as fast as France wanted the money. We then offered to change the nature of the contract ; to make the foreign a domestic debt and to add  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to the annuities and make the capital transferable. France had the option to stand to the old contract, or to change it for the new—

she preferred the latter—we have gained nothing by it. If she has sold this stock at a loss, we have not gained the difference. In short nothing can be more uncandid than to represent this measure adopted for the benefit of France without the least advantage to us, as a profitable or unkind proceeding on our part. I send you a printed statement on this subject presented to the House of Reps. in January last, by which you will see that our debt is paid off.

I shall be happy to hear from you often, and if you think it prudent to give me a little news and politicks, I shall be glad to receive them. Make my compliments and congratulations to Talleyrand.

Farewell Yrs &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

BAKER STREET, 10th Oct., 1796.\*

Mr. King presents his compliments to Lord Grenville, and incloses for his Lordship's information a letter that he has received from Mr. John Haven, a citizen of the U. S. of America, stating the capture of the American ship *Strafford* laden with a valuable Cargo, the property of the said John Haven & regularly cleared at his Majesty's custom house and bound from London to Lisbon.

Mr. King takes the liberty to request Lord Grenville's interference, in order that this case may speedily be examined, and if the statement of Mr. Haven is well founded, that the said ship & cargo may with the least possible delay, be restored and permitted to proceed on her voyage.

R. KING TO MR. STRICKLAND.

LONDON, Oct. 14, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I owe you, my dear Sir, a thousand apologies for not having before answered your very obliging letter, the receipt of

\* As a specimen of the complaints, which were now frequently received by Mr. King, and of the manner in which he treated them, the above is introduced.

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which within a few days after my arrival, afforded me so much pleasure. I have the more regrets on this subject, as without employing terms of civility, I can with truth say that no foreigner who has visited America, has left more favorable impressions, and that to no one with whom I have had so short an acquaintance should I have been so unwilling to have appeared wanting in those tokens of respect and esteem, which I feel to be due from me to you.

When you visit London, I shall hope for the pleasure of seeing you, and of making you acquainted with Mrs. King, who with our young family are with me. In the course of the next year, I flatter myself, that I shall be able to see different parts of your charming country, and I assure you it will give me peculiar pleasure to meet you where you reside.

With perfect and sincere esteem your faithful & ob. Servt.

RUFUS KING.

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JOHN LAWRENCE TO R. KING, LONDON.

NEW YORK, Oct. 15, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . It gave us pleasure to hear you were all safe.  
 . . . We hope that now and then some information we can rely on will reach us. What is to be the result of all, I have done conjecturing. The late events have so far exceeded my expectations, that I am lost in astonishment.

We are somewhat alarmed at the report of the design of the French interfering with the vessels of neutral Powers, coming to and going from the ports of their enemies. This may embarrass our trade exceedingly, and, I suppose, if carried into execution, produce serious losses ; however we have escaped serious dangers heretofore, and I am not without hope we shall get through without much inconvenience. We must mind our own concerns and take care of ourselves ; could we do these things we should not be tangible. . . .

Hamilton, Henderson & myself made an excursion to Long Island for 5 days, the beginning of this month. We got a few grouse, and the ride restored Hamilton's digestion. He was not

well. I remembered, when at Nicolls Mill, the execution you did with the aid of your spectacles. Hamilton is gone to attend the term at Albany. . . .

Yours sincerely,

JOHN LAWRENCE.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, Oct. 16, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I wish it was in my power now to give you a more satisfactory account of what will be the decision of this Government respecting our trade with their West Indies and relative to an equitable agreement for the security of our seamen. I have before communicated to you that soon after my arrival here, I asked a conference with Lord Grenville, in which I explained to him what would be satisfactory to us on these points. He engaged to confer with his colleagues and to give me an answer ; but here the business has stopped, his Lordship not having yet furnished me with his promised answer. I know that this Government are almost exclusively employed in the very interesting affairs in which they and the principal powers of Europe are engaged. These may divert their attention from objects which we consider as very important to us, and I have no doubt that the delay that I shall experience is in some measure to be ascribed to this cause ; but I am not certain that other considerations may not have their influence in postponing for the present any definitive step on these subjects.

If they should decline forming such an article relative to the West Indies as we would accept, they may prefer, as I think they would, not to design such decision at this juncture. A like policy may operate in respect to our Seamen : though I cannot allow myself to believe that ultimately they will decline entering into a reasonable convention on this subject. But as they believe that their national safety depends essentially upon their marine, they feel unusual caution relative to a stipulation that by mere possibility can deprive their navy of a single seaman, who is a real British subject, or that may even diminish the chance of obtaining the services of those who are not British subjects, but who

by various pretences are detained in service as such. Hence it is to be apprehended that they desire to postpone a convention with us on this subject till the return of peace. In the mean time their officers may show more caution in impressing our Seamen, and more justice in discharging them when claimed.

I have no reason to doubt the sincere desire of this Government to cultivate our esteem. I believe that the administration, together with the nation throughout, desire to live with us in Friendship, and I do not think they would for a slight cause disagree with us. But their colony trade and marine are topics intimately and exclusively connected with their prosperity and security and more deeply with their prejudices. If we cannot agree respecting their West Indies, we may still remain friends. The case of our Seamen is more important as well as more difficult. At present we are injured in this point. A rule of discrimination between our and their Seamen is practicable. We are ready and desirous to establish such Rule. If they decline it they increase the injury. We cannot respect the justice of a nation and at the same time believe that it will refuse to enter into a convention, that without injury to itself is necessary to prevent it to another.

I have thought prudent, as well as politic, to pursue the most conciliatory course. I shall continue to follow it and will not cease to endeavour to effect a reasonable and satisfactory arrangement, as well in respect to the West India article as well as relative to the security of our Seamen.

With great respect & esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO N. LOW, NEW YORK.

LONDON, Oct. 17, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Our Commissioners here are beginning—hitherto they have decided no important questions, though I understand they are now discussing some points of much consequence. There does not appear any reason to doubt that the results of this commission will be satisfactory.

The French Govt. have issued a new order, as I am informed, authorizing the seizure of enemy property on board neutral ships ;

their treaties to the contrary notwithstanding. This is a singular proceeding at the time when they proclaim themselves the advocates of a liberal commerce and of the freedom of the seas. Lord Malmesbury has gone to Paris—whether peace will be established is thought very problematical. Some say a Spanish war is nearer and more likely than a French peace.

Farewell yrs.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO COL. MONROE.

LONDON, Oct. 19, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

Since I wrote to you a few days past by Mr. Livingston, the rumour that General Pinckney had been named to succeed you at Paris has been confirmed ; and the letters from Philadelphia that I now transmit to you by Mr. Robert Lyle, will I presume announce this information from the Department of State. I hope there has been no misunderstanding on this subject. Mr. Pinckney, my predecessor, did not embark till within two days, and just as he was going on board ship, he received the information that his Brother was named as your successor & that they would probably pass each other on the Ocean. . . .

With great esteem yr ob & faithful Servt.

RUFUS KING.

JOHN JAY TO R. KING, LONDON.

NEW YORK, Oct. 21, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Dr. Edwards left us a few days ago. He arrived here after an uncommon short passage ; from him I recd. much interesting Information ; among other things that you pleased and was pleased.

I am happy to find that the Board of Comrs. has been completed, and that it consists of men, whose characters promise Justice and Satisfaction to both sides. This intelligence causes agreeable sensations in this Country, and is in many Respects interesting. It is to be wished that the Comrs. may harmonize as to principles, and the application of them.

Things remain here much in the state in which you left them. The President's Resignation has been followed by publications calculated to influence the ensuing Election. They manage in some places with very little Respect to Decorum. It is said that Mr. Jefferson has consented to serve if elected. But this Fact does not as yet appear to be unequivocally ascertained.

The handsome manner in which the Posts were delivered—the appointment of Benson to the St. Croix Commission and of Trumbull to the other are pleasing circumstances. The Return of the Governors of Canada, who were generally supposed not to have been friendly to us in regard to the Indians, is a judicious measure—especially if their successors should be prudent and conciliatory.

Very Sincerely yours

JOHN JAY.

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T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Oct. 26, 1796.

. . . I think it is mentioned in your Instructions, that the British naval officers often impress Swedes, Danes and other foreigners from the vessels of the U. States; they have even sometimes impressed Frenchmen. If there should be time to make out a copy of a Protest lately received, it shall be inclosed, describing the impress of a Dane and a Portuguese. This surely is an abuse easy to correct. They cannot pretend an inability to distinguish these foreigners from their own subjects; and they may with as much reason rob American vessels of the property or merchandize of Swedes, Danes and Portuguese, as seize and detain in their service subjects of those nations, found on board American vessels. The President is extremely anxious to have this business of Impresses placed on a reasonable footing. . . .

Your information of the advice from Mr. Monroe in his Letter of August 28, was very gratefully received.\* The note published purporting to be from Mr. De La Croix to M. Barthelemi was doubtless authentic; but it only declared the *intentions* of the

\* See R. K.'s Letter to Hamilton, Sept. 10, 1796.

Directory, and no order, it is to be presumed, had been issued for capturing neutral vessels bound to or from English ports ; and as the threatened order for this purpose was made to depend on a previous similar order of the British Government, I trust our Commerce will not be subjected to new vexations. In the West Indies indeed the French Privateers are capturing and condemning our vessels ; but I believe this to proceed only from the wants of their Colonies, and the injustice of their officers in other instances, who under the pretence of public wants plunder for themselves. . . .

Your observations relative to costs in prosecuting appeals by the Agent of the U. States, Mr. Bayard, merit much attention—Mr. Pickering then proceeds to state the case as it strikes his mind, and closes “where there shall be a final condemnation of the property captured, we have a right to conclude that the sufferers were not entitled to the aid of Government, and yet these are the cases in which, as you remark, the recovery of an indemnity to the public would be extremely difficult, no previous security or stipulation being given by the claimants. Where restitution shall be decreed, the amount of the expenses may be deducted as you propose, and the balance paid over to the claimants. It will certainly be proper to adopt your advice in this case until by the proper authority the question shall be determined.” . . .

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R. KING TO J. Q. ADAMS.

LONDON, Nov. 10, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

We still have cause to complain of the capture of our vessels by the marine of this country. At the same time it is no more than candour to confess that some of the captures have been but too well justified. Allured by the Hope of high freights some of our people (I hope and believe the instances are few) have lent their names to cover Enemy Goods. One or two such cases having been detected, have cast a suspicion upon all our vessels employed in a similar trade. . . . Though we have reason to be dissatisfied that so many of our vessels are captured, still I

think the injury and injustice we experience in the impressment of our Seamen is a more serious cause of discontent. I wish I could inform you that I have a reasonable expectation that any equitable Regulation is likely to be agreed in by this Government on this point. I will not say that I despair of their doing us justice, but being sincerely desirous to see a friendly and harmonious intercourse between the two countries, I regret that I do not discover that disposition on this very important subject without which it cannot exist.

Our latest accounts from home are to the last of September. The President has published an address to the People, in which he declines another Election. The Topics he has discussed are very interesting to our Happiness and I think the performance will add to his Reputation. The country is in great tranquillity and unless the passions of the People should be roused by any unexpected occurrence, I feel little doubt that the choice of a successor will fall where it is eminently merited, where you & I must wish it. I understand that Mr. Adams & Mr. Pinckney (my predecessor) will be voted for by the Federalists, and Mr. Jefferson and I don't know whom by their opponents. Mr. Monroe is recalled & is to be succeeded by General Pinckney, the elder brother of the gentleman you knew here. He is a very amiable and truly respectable character. I allow myself to hope that no public inconvenience will attend this change.

With sincere Esteem & Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO GENL. WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 26th of August, and Dr. Nichols, whose advice I have asked, has been so obliging as to give me information respecting the manner in which the order of the Court of Chancery should be published. In a day or two I will procure its insertion in the proper News Paper. Some little attention will be requisite to avoid, as far as

practicable, the great Expense which commonly attends this kind of publication. The Newspapers containing the notification shall be transmitted to you agreeable to your directions.

It is extremely difficult to form a satisfactory opinion respecting the probability of peace. I meet with few persons who appear to have much confidence in the success of Lord Malmesbury. The declaration of war by Spain at a moment when England appeared to be making serious efforts to conclude a general peace, strengthens the belief of many that France prefers still to continue the war. All the internal movements of this Government, that are visible, indicate a Determination to prosecute the war with vigour. The funding of the floating debt earlier than usual and at the commencement of the negotiations with France, when its influence upon the Stocks is such as a measure so direct for the restoration of peace is calculated to produce, the augmentation of the militia by the addition of 60,000 men, and the means employed to recruit the regular army, if peace is near, would seem to be improvident and unwise. But if the war continues, 12 millions will have been funded on advantageous terms, the Government will have removed an important obstacle to the further use of their credit, and, by an increase of the internal strength of the nation, placed at their disposal, the regular Forces to be employed abroad.

France will bend all her energies against that Commerce in which England finds such immense Resources to prosecute the war, not by attacking her navy, not by attempting the threatened invasion, but by compelling the neighbouring nations to exclude the commerce of England from the great and profitable markets of Europe. England in turn will endeavour to balance the account, by conquering or emancipating the colonies of Spain and France, thereby opening new and extensive markets in another quarter of the Globe. Should the war unfortunately still grow, the meditated expedition against Canada by the Mississippi may possibly be undertaken. I think it much less probable since the evacuation of our frontier posts by the British forces. Though I cannot seriously believe that such an expedition will be attempted, still it may be the part of prudence to consider it as possible, in order to guard against its mischiefs.

Spain enumerates among the injuries received from Great Britain, the Treaty concluded with us. And France was satisfied neither with that Treaty, nor with the subsequent one, that was concluded at a fortunate moment between us and Spain. Both may have been dissatisfied from motives connected with the Project of an Expedition through the Mississippi.

With perfect respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

## CHAPTER IX.

**Correspondence with the Secretary of State—Sailing of the British Commissioners Under the Sixth Article of the Treaty with Great Britain—Mr. Adet's Publication Relative to the French Decree on the Commerce of Neutrals—Mr. Pickering's Answer—R. Troup on the coming Election of President—Baron Jacobi about General Steuben's Property and Mr. King's Answer—Mr. Bingham sends Stuart's Painting of Washington to Lord Landsdown—R. King's letter to Lord Grenville about Mr. John Maxwell, an impressed American Citizen—Protest against Captain Pigot's Conduct—Letter to Hamilton on Condition of England.**

### R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, NOV. 12, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

. . . The ordinary conferences at Lord Grenville's office have been interrupted for some days past on account of the death of his sister ; in consequence of this interruption I have not been able since the receipt of your letter of the 31st of August to fulfil in the manner I prefer your instructions respecting Mr. Liston's conciliatory and friendly interference to assist Col. Talbot's agency for the relief of our seamen in the West Indies. I have no reason to believe that this interference will be disproved : on the contrary I am persuaded that it is a pleasing circumstance to this Government that Mr. Liston's conduct has been satisfactory to us. Mr. Liston had transmitted an account of the base and humiliating treatment of Captain Jessup by Capt. Pigot before I received your letter of the 10th of September and the Lords of the Admiralty have ordered, as I am informed, a rigorous enquiry to be made into the conduct of that officer. This case is so extraordinary that I hope proper means will be em-

ployed to authenticate it in the most solemn manner. If this is done and the evidence transmitted to me I think this Government cannot avoid punishing Capt. Pigot in a manner that will deter others from imitating his infamous conduct.

Mr. McDonald and Mr. Rich will sail in a day or two for Philadelphia. These gentlemen are the Commissioners on the part of this country in the Debt Questions. The former is a Barrister of some eminence, the latter is a merchant who has resided for more than twenty years in Holland and was the British Consul there at the commencement of the war between this and that country. They are both esteemed to be liberal & upright men, wholly unconnected with the business of the Commission and well disposed to cultivate a good understanding and friendly intercourse between the two countries. I have no doubt that they will be received in a manner that will be proper and of course satisfactory.

With perfect respect, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, NOV. 14, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

. . . A very unpleasant transaction has lately taken place between the French Minister Mr. Adet and our Government. On the 28th ulto. I received his Letter of the 27th, which he published in the Aurora of the 31st, together with the Decree of the Executive Directory relative to the commerce of the Neutral Nations. His representations were of a nature to render it extremely desirable that the conduct of the American Government should be as publicly vindicated. The public sentiment appeared to demand it. Yet it was with great reluctance that my answer to Mr. Adet was sent to the press. The printed copies of these letters you will find inclosed. In his note of the 3d, of which also a copy is inclosed, he promises information in answer to the questions I had proposed relative to our Commerce ; but his reply has not yet been received. It is remarkable that in this short note, he says that the Decree of the Directory, which he notified

to me, bears no likeness to the supposed order which was the subject of Mr. Monroe's Letter of the 28th of August to you ; when the *result* of both is precisely the same, to wit, that the *French* cruizers would act towards the vessels of other Nations in the same manner as these suffer the *English* to act towards them. The declaratory words in the note to Mr. Barthelemi, to which you and Mr. Monroe referred, as printed in the Paris newspapers (for the matter was not officially communicated to Mr. Monroe) were these "Le directoire executif charge, en consequence, tous les agens politiques de la republique française d'annoncer aux gouvernemens près desquels ils sont envoyés, que les escadres et les corsaires de la republique agiront contre les navires de chaque pays de la même maniere que ces gouvernemens souffriront qu'en agissent envers eux les anglais." The words of the decree, sent to me by Mr. Adet, are as follows :

"Il sera notifié sans delai à toutes les puissances neutres ou alliés que le pavillon de la republique française en usera envers les batimens neutres soit pour la confiscation, soit pour la visite, ou prehension de la même manière qu'elles souffront que les Anglais en usent a leur égard."

As Mr. Adet's letter was published on Monday, and the election of Electors of President and Vice President was to take place the Friday following in Pennsylvania, and the choice of President was so near at hand, conjectures appeared in the newspapers of one motive for its publication.

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T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Nov. 26, 1796.

Mr. Pickering writing about the difficulty of communicating directly with Mr. Pinckney at Paris, says "It will be in your power to communicate earlier advices of what is passing in France than we can expect from Mr. Pinckney. I must entreat you to advert to this circumstance, and that to a recital of facts you would add such reflections as a nearer view of them shall suggest."

## R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 16th Nov., 1796.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . Our good friend the district Judge (John Lawrance) has been appointed to take your seat in the Senate. There was but one dissenting voice in both branches of our Legislature to this appointment. . . .

We are all anxiety about the coming election of President and Vice President. In this State our electors were appointed a few days ago. We have none but good and true men, who will vote unanimously for Adams and Pinckney. . . . I am inclined to think, and such is the inclination of our friends here, that Mr. Adams will not succeed ; but we have Mr. Pinckney completely in our power if our Eastern friends do not refuse him some of their votes, under an idea that if they vote for him unanimously they may injure Mr. Adams. Upon this subject, we are writing to all our Eastern friends and endeavoring to make them accord with us in voting unanimously both for Mr. Adams and Mr. Pinckney. It would appear from the proceedings of Jefferson's party in Pennsylvania, that Burr was to be their Vice President. But we all suppose he will meet with little support. . . . In our election for Representatives, we are and I fear we shall continue to be divided. It is most probable that Watson will be agreed on to be supported ; but if he succeeds, it will be owing to vigorous exertions. His very name is an emetic to many of our best friends.

The President's resignation has not even been carped at in a single instance that I have heard of ; all his friends consider it a second new testament.

Our friend the Governor is well but rather out of temper with the abrupt adjournment of our Legislature to meet in January next, and at Albany. We shall never, in all probability, see them again in this city ; and we suppose it will not be long before the seat of government is removed to that quarter. The northern and western interests are much too powerful for us. . . .

Your friend

R. TROUP.

## BARON JACOBI TO MR. KING.

LONDON, GLOUCESTER PLACE, 10th Nov., 1796.

Baron Jacobi begs leave of Mr. King to apply to him in the following business. General Von Steuben, a Prussian subject being lately in the service of the United States of America, died there near New York, as it is presumed these twelve months ago.

His sister, Julianna Von Steuben, and his brother Siegfried Von Steuben are desirous to know what has become of the inheritance of the said General.

B. Jacobi would be much obliged to Mr. King if he would have the goodness to interfere in order to procure some authentic accounts about that business. He would be very thankful also if in the mean time he could get any information about the steps to be taken for procuring the inheritance of General Von Steuben to his above mentioned heirs.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Nov. 19, 1796.

Mr. King presents his compliments to Baron Jacobi, and has the honor to inform him in answer to his note respecting the late Baron de Steuben, with whom Mr. King had the pleasure to be well acquainted, that he served with great reputation in the American army, and by the introduction of a more perfect discipline than had before existed, rendered important and acknowledged service to the United States. At the conclusion of the American war, in addition to other compensations for these services, the Baron was allowed by Congress a yearly pension of two thousand and five hundred dollars to continue during his life—and the State of New York, where the Baron resided, gave him a valuable tract of Land, containing several thousand acres. The Baron was a man of expence and Mr. King has reason to believe, that he owed debts to a considerable amount, when he left for Europe. Some of these debts were afterwards paid by the Baron ; others of them remained unpaid at his death.

The Baron's moveables, or personal estate, were at the time of his death of small value. His Lands, part of which he sold during his life, were his only property worth inquiry. As the Baron died

without issue, his next of kin capable to inherit, would have succeeded to his Lands had he died intestate. But he made a will, in which, after bequeathing his Books, Furniture and other personal estate of small value to a young Gentleman of the name of Milliken (who lived in his house and whom he had assisted in his collegiate education) he devised the whole of his Lands and other property to Col. Walker and Major North, two American citizens, who had been Aids-de-Camp to the Baron and whom he considered and treated as his particular friends. This will has been established according to the requisitions and forms of our Laws, and the next of kin to the Baron de Steuben are thereby excluded from inheriting any part of his estate. Mr. King gives this information from recollecting what was publicly understood respecting the Baron de Steuben's affairs—he has no doubt that it is essentially correct. If however, the Baron Jacobi should desire more exact and formal information, Mr. King with much pleasure, will procure from New York an authenticated copy of the Baron's will, together with an attested inventory of his estate.

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WM. BINGHAM TO R. KING, LONDON.

PHILADA., Nov. 29, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I have sent by the present opportunity a full length Portrait of the President. It is executed by Stewart (who is well known in London) with a great deal of enthusiasm, and in his best manner, & does great credit to the American Artist. It is intended as a Present on the part of Mrs. Bingham to Lord Landsdown. As a warm Friend of the United States and a great admirer of the President, it cannot have a better Destination.

The Frame that accompanies it is manufactured in Philada. with much Taste & Elegance. It has been suggested that some difficulties may exist relative to its admission : in which case I must request your Interference to obviate them.

Our Elections of Electors have been so far closed as to determine with considerable accuracy the result. The Friends of Mr. Adams may calculate on a majority in his favor, but so small that, on so momentous an occasion, it would be risking too much to

trust entirely thereto. It is therefore deemed expedient to recommend to the federal Electors to give an uniform vote for Mr. Pinckney, which with those that he will obtain to the Southward, detached from Mr. Adams, will give him a decided Majority over the other Candidates.

We are unfortunate in the Election in this State : we carried only two of our Ticket. The most unwearied Exertions, accompanied by some Bribery, and not a little chicane, have been practised on this occasion by the anti-federal Party. They were very essentially aided in their Views by some of Mr. Adet's strokes of diplomatic Finesse. In the House of Representatives the federalists have triumphed at the last Election. We shall rather have an accession than diminution of strength in the Senate. Burr will not be re-elected and Butler resigns in disgust. . . .

With sincerity & esteem,

WM. BINGHAM.

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R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Nov. 30, 1796.

MY LORD :

I have the honor to return the letter addressed to John Maxwell from his wife which your Lordship some time since transmitted to me as containing evidence of improper conduct on the part of the American Consul at Bristol. I sent this letter to Mr. Vanderhorst, the Consul referred to, with a request that he would furnish such Explanations relative to this case as should be in his power. From the communication that I have received from Mr. Vanderhorst, extracts from which I take the liberty to inclose for your Lordship's information, I flatter myself that it will appear that the unfavorable inferences that have been drawn from this letter, respecting the conduct of Mr. Vanderhorst are not well founded.

In your Lordship's letter of the 21st of September in answer to my application for the discharge of Mr. Maxwell, an American citizen impressed and detained on board his Majesty's ship Sandwich, the reason assigned against his discharge is "that he is married and settled at Bristol"; and I understand that the orders of the Commissioners of the Admiralty for the discharge of Amer-

ican Seamen usually contain a Proviso that the discharge is not to operate in favor of any person who has entered on board any of his Majesty's ships, or who is married or settled within any of his Majesty's dominions. Without admitting or contesting on this occasion the Rule of English Law, that a subject cannot divest himself of his natural Allegiance, I take the liberty to request your Lordship's attention to the diversity of practice so much to the disadvantage of American citizens that prevails in the application of this Rule.

If Great Britain requires the acquiescence of foreign nations in this Law, so far as regards the requisition of her subjects married or settled abroad, or voluntarily engaged in foreign service, is she not bound in like manner to observe it herself in respect to the subjects of foreign Powers under similar circumstances in her service or within her Dominions? If to the demand of a Foreigner in her service by the nation to which he belongs, Great Britain answers that such Foreigner cannot be delivered because he voluntarily engaged to serve his Majesty or is married or settled within his Majesty's Dominions; is she not bound by her own Principles to admit the validity of the same answer from such foreign nation, when she requires the surrender of British Subjects found in a similar predicament in the service or within the Territory of such foreign Nation? Justice, which is always impartial, furnishes the proper answer to these questions.

Admitting that the voluntary contract of an American citizen to serve on board a British Ship, or the marriage or settlement of such citizen within his Majesty's Dominions, is the foundation of a right in his Majesty's Government to refuse the requisition of the United States of America, that such citizen should be discharged from his Majesty's service, do we not thereby establish a Principle that at once condemns and puts an end to the practice of his Majesty's Naval officers in entering American Ships in search of and for the purpose of impressing British seamen, since all seamen found on board such ships are there of choice and by voluntary compact to serve in the American Employ.

But if neither of these circumstances can be considered as justly giving a Right to his Majesty's Government to refuse the discharge of American citizens, does it not result that the usual

Proviso connected with the orders for the discharge of such citizens, and which is assigned as a reason against the discharge of John Maxwell, is without any just foundation and consequently operates to the disadvantage and injury of the American citizens?

With the highest consideration & esteem, &c., &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Nov. 30, 1796.

MY LORD :

In obedience to the instructions of the President of the United States of America, I transmit to your Lordship an account of the violent and humiliating treatment received by William Jessup, a citizen of the said United States and master of the American ship *Mercury*, from H. Pigot commander of his Majesty's Frigate *Success*. The circumstances of this outrage are so extraordinary, that, persuaded as I am of the Justice of his Majesty's Government, I cannot a moment doubt that conformable to the just requisition of the President of the United States, efficacious measures will be taken to inquire into the same, and upon the verification thereof, that the said H. Pigot will be punished as an atrocious violator of the Treaty between the two Nations.

With high consideration & esteem, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

London, December 9, 1796. R. King on this date reports to the Secretary of State the following answers from Lord Grenville, December 8, 1796:

DOWNING STREET, Dec. 8, 1796.

SIR :

I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 30th ulto., and of transmitting to you the copy of a letter upon the subject of it, which I have received from the Lords of the Admiralty, and from which you will perceive that previously to any complaint having been made by yourself or the Govern-

ment of the United States to Mr. Liston, directions had been given for instituting an immediate inquiry into the Conduct imputed to Captain Pigot.

I have the honor to be, with great truth, &c.,

GRENVILLE.

ADMIRALTY OFFICE, 7th Dec., 1796.

MY LORD :

Your Lordship having transmitted to us in your letter of the 3d inst. an extract of one which you had received from Mr. Liston, his Majesty's Minister to the United States of America, together with a Copy of the Petition referred to therein from William Jesup, Master of the American vessel the Mercury, on the subject of the outrageous and cruel conduct, stated to have been exercised towards him by Capt. Pigot of his M. S. Success on the occasion set forth ; and signified to us at the same time his Majesty's pleasure that we should cause a particular inquiry to be immediately made respecting the conduct imputed to Capt. Pigot and the circumstances of the transaction in question ; we have the honor, in answer thereto to acquaint your Lordship for his Majesty's information, that we have sent transcripts of the Extract and Petition above mentioned to Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Commander in chief of his Majesty's Ships and vessels at St. Domingo, with instructions to make immediate and strict Enquiry into the said transaction accordingly, and to report to us the Result without delay ; having however previous to the receipt of your letter, sent similar instructions to him, in consequence of a statement which had appeared in an American Newspaper dated the 25th of July last.

We have the honor to be, &c.,

ARDEN

CHARLES SMALL PYBUS

PH. STEPHENS.

Mr. King finishes his letter thus :

"If the charge of Captain Jesup shall on examination be supported, of which there can scarcely be a doubt, I think that Captn. Pigot will be punished with severity."

## R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.\*

LONDON, Nov. 30th, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR :

The Archduke having expelled Jourdan and Moreau from Germany, the parties are in respect to territory in that quarter, where they were when the campaign began. Bonaparte, by the latest accounts from Italy, is critically circumstanced, and it seems not improbable, that he likewise will be compelled to retire from Lombardy. The mission of Lord Malmesbury remains undecided, and though the negotiation is not promising, it does not appear as desperate as it did a fortnight ago. Paper has entirely ceased as a medium in France ; what their ability is to prosecute another campaign, you, as well as I can, may conjecture. New projects are to be brought forward in this country, and if for no other reason than that they are novelties, they will be hazardous, where the force of habit is stronger than that of reason. The minister's plan is not definitively settled ; but enough is known to authorize a belief that it cannot be approved by the moneyed men. The 3 percents are at about 56 per ct. The minister is unwilling to augment the debt, already enormous, by borrowing on such terms. He intends proposing a loan, which is to be advanced by *patriotic* capitalists, upon terms more advantageous to the government. What patriotism may do, I cannot say ; but unless there exists a real conviction in the minds of wealthy men, that their wealth is in danger, I should suspect that this virtue, pure and dignified as it is, will in this country prove an unproductive source when millions are required. It is time to make peace ; for all sides are weary with the war. We most sincerely desire it, since peace alone will afford us the tranquillity we wish, and ought to enjoy.

I do not think it prudent to write my opinions, so far as I have formed them, concerning certain subjects interesting to our rights, and respecting which you will naturally wish for information from this quarter. The casualties to which letters are liable require a caution that between friends is unpleasant, and sometimes inconvenient. You know my opinion respecting this country. We have often endeavored to explain appearances that

\* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 183.

we disliked, and preserve our respect for a nation who have done much to improve the condition and happiness of mankind. I still hope that I have not been deceived, and that experience will prove that the opinions of those from whom we differed were, as we believed them, partial and erroneous.

We are anxious to hear the result of the Presidential election—much, very much will depend upon that event. Farewell.

Yours very sincerely, &c.,

R. KING.

## CHAPTER X.

**Correspondence with Lord Grenville relative to the Conduct of the Consuls of the U. S. in granting Certificates to Seamen—Also as to the Detention of American Seamen on British Ships of War—Case of the Olive Branch—Letters from Mr. Goodhue and Mr. Hamilton respecting the coming Presidential Election in the U. S. and Mr. Adet's Communications—R. King's letters to Mr. Pinckney in Paris on French Affairs—Vindication of the U. S. in the Conduct towards France.**

### R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, Dec. 10, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

My letter of the 8th of September has given you information of what passed between Lord Grenville & me respecting the authority of our Consuls to grant Protections to Seamen. On the 3rd day of Nov. I received the following letter from his Lordship.

“ DOWNING STREET, 3d Nov., 1796.

“ SIR :

“The Consuls of the United States residing in his Majesty's Dominions have for some time past been in the habit of granting to sea-faring Persons certificates under their consular seal purporting that the Bearers of them are citizens of the United States, and as such liable to be called upon for the service of their own country and that they are therefore not to be interrupted or molested by any means whatever. I have reason to believe that these certificates have frequently been granted upon very slight and insufficient evidence and in a great number of cases to Persons who were in fact British seamen.

"But independently of this abuse, I am under the necessity of representing to you on the part of his Majesty's Government the insuperable objections which apply to the Principle of a jurisdiction in this respect assumed and exercised within his Majesty's dominions by the Consuls of a foreign nation. And I must remark to you that the impropriety of a proceeding so much out of the ordinary line of consular functions, and so liable to be abused for the worst purposes, is very much aggravated by the unwarrantable assumption of a Power in the Consuls to administer oaths to his Majesty's subjects and others resident within these realms concerning the matter of the said certificates.

"I had the honor of writing to Mr. Pinckney on this subject on the 13th of July last, requesting that he would inform me whether the Consuls of the United States are in any manner authorized or instructed by their own Government to grant such certificates, and, in such case, whether any and what Rule of evidence or discretion is prescribed to them for their guidance is a duty of so difficult and delicate a nature.

"I apprehend that Mr. Pinckney's departure prevented his answering my letters ; but as I am persuaded that no such authority can in fact have been given, the frequent instances of this practice which have lately come within my knowledge, oblige me now to request that you will have the goodness to notify the consuls that they are in future to abstain from a proceeding which far exceeds the limits of their office, which is neither sanctioned by the law and usage of nations, nor by any treaty between the two countries, and the continuance of which must be considered an act on their part injurious to the authority of the King's Government. The earnest desire which I feel to avoid even the appearance of a misunderstanding between the two Governments, leads me to prefer this mode of notification rather than to take any manner of signifying it to them more directly.

"And I avail myself with pleasure of this opportunity to assure you of the high consideration & esteem, &c., &c.

"I have the honor to be,

"GRENVILLE."

I thought it proper to communicate this letter to our Consuls, which I did by copies accompanied by the following letter :

MR. KNOX, AMERICAN CONSUL, HULL—CIRCULAR TO THE  
CONSULS.

“LONDON, Nov. 18, 1796.

“SIR :

“Inclosed I send you a copy of a letter from Lord Grenville to me respecting the Consular Jurisdiction. Hitherto I have not had leisure to consider the subject in the manner I wish to do, previous to the return of an answer. It has however appeared to me advisable to transmit to you a copy of the letter, in order that you should be informed of the Decision of this Government on the points to which it refers. I am at present inclined to believe that the administration of oaths by our Consuls in these or any other cases to British subjects is neither necessary nor proper. The other Point is more doubtful, as well as more important, as it regards the security of our navigation and seamen. As we have no convention with this Nation, defining the Consular Powers, they must be ascertained by the Law of Nations. General usage is evidence of this Law, and some of its Rules are to be found only in the existence of such usage. I have not discovered anything explicit on the Question in any work of Reputation, and I shall be obliged to you to inquire and, as early as convenient, to inform me what is the Practice on this subject of the consuls of other Powers resident in this nation. If you can procure and send me copies of similar certificates issued by the Consuls of other nations, if such certificates are granted by any of them, I desire you to do so.

“Though I would not be understood as giving a settled opinion on this Point, I ought not to omit observing to you, that neither our Laws respecting Consuls nor the late Law for the Relief and Protection of American Seamen give to our Consuls any authority to grant Certificates of Citizenship ; and I have seen no Instruction from the Executive that authorizes it. If the Power exists, it must be derived from the Law of Nations. This Government denies that it can be deduced from that source, and notifies to us that we must abstain from the Exercise of the Power, since the same is deemed to be repugnant to the Jurisdiction, and a continuance thereof will be considered as injurious to the Authority of the King's Government.

“With great respect, &c.,

“RUFUS KING.”

I do not consider myself authorized to instruct our Consuls in this or in any other instance : in cases in which they ask my advice, I readily give it according to my views of their Privileges, and of the public welfare. So far as I have been informed, the Consuls do not think it prudent since this communication from Lord Grenville to grant any more protections, and in consequence thereof, I am frequently applied to by Seamen on the subject.

I did not approve of that part of the late Law for the Relief and Protection of Seamen which authorizes the Collectors to grant Protections. It appeared to me to be a measure of questionable policy, and I apprehend it has placed our Seamen in a worse instead of a better situation than that in which they were before.

One great evil of the regulation is that every Seaman who is without a Certificate, and every one who has a Certificate from any other Officer than a Collector, is considered as not having been able to procure a certificate from the Collector and is treated here as a British Subject. The Law ought to be repealed, or what under present circumstances would be better, it might be amended by requiring every Seaman, who is a citizen, to prove the same in a safe and satisfactory manner and to procure a Certificate thereof from the Collector. Another amendment should be added to prohibit every other person except the Collectors from granting Certificates to Seamen.

At present it is optional with a Seaman to procure or not to procure a Certificate of citizenship, or to procure it from the Collector or any other Officer. Hence these Certificates are granted on a variety of forms on different degrees of proof and by almost every grade of magistrates, and the consequence thereof has been that they are all in some sort disregarded.

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R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Dec. 12, 1796.

Mr. King presents his compliments to Lord Grenville, and takes the liberty to inclose a list of Thirty three Seamen, who state themselves to be American citizens detained on board his Majesty's Ships of War ; most of these cases are without the

usual Proofs : the laws of the United States permit, but do not oblige any citizen to procure and carry with him abroad a Certificate of Citizenship. Several of the persons named in the list state that they did procure such Certificates before they left America, but that the same have been taken from them, and are detained or destroyed. All of them are strenuous in declaring themselves to be American Citizens, and in expressing their Confidence, that on an impartial examination they shall be able to produce such Circumstances and Proofs, as will afford reasonable satisfaction that they really are so.

Mr. King is apprized that inconveniences may be apprehended from the reference of these and similar cases to a civil magistrate, or to any other & more regular Tribunal, than that which at present decides them. But on the other hand his confidence in Lord Grenville's candor, induces him to believe that his Lordship will agree with him in the opinion, that the commander of a ship of war (however honorable and esteemed, whose zeal for the public service, whose personal emulation, and whose Reputation and honor must inspire him with a strong and natural anxiety that his ship should continue ably and fully manned) cannot be the impartial Judge that these cases require.

Mr. King on this occasion finds it to be his Duty, to request Lord Grenville's interference in order that these cases may receive an impartial examination ; and though not accompanied by the usual proofs, if by Circumstances and other satisfactory Evidence, it shall appear that the same are truly represented, that the said Seamen may be discharged.

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R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, Dec. 15, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I think it prudent to transmit to you copies of a Letter and of the papers that accompanied it, which I yesterday received from General Ira Allen of Vermont. Agreeable to his wishes and to the accustomed course in Cases of Capture, I shall send copies to Lord Grenville with a request of his interference in order that this case should be examined, and if the statements of General

Allen should be found true, that the ship and Cargo should be restored and permitted to proceed on her voyage.

Various rumours respecting the Destination of these arms have prevailed here ; among them it has been said that they were intended to be introduced through Vermont into Canada in order to favor certain Projects that France meditates respecting that Country. It is not my business to add conjectures or speculations upon this subject. You will be able to judge of the number of the militia of Vermont, of their probable deficiency of arms ; whether it has been the practice in Vermont to arm the militia at the public charge, whether the Legislature had authorized Governor Chittenden or General Allen to make a Purchase of such a quantity of muskets & Cannon and, by examining the contracts, of which I enclose copies, you will be better able to form a correct opinion of the nature of this Transaction than I am able to do.\*

Yr. obt. & faithful Servt.,

RUFUS KING.

B. GOODHUE TO R. KING, LONDON.

PHILADA., Dec. 15, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

. . . You must, I presume, have seen Adet's Notes to our Secretary calculated to degrade the character and measures of the Executive, and to influence in the choice of another : in the latter view it had doubtless an effect to establish the Anti-Ticket of Electors in this State by a small majority, but I don't hear of any such effect anywhere else ; neither do I believe it will be possible for him or his Master, either by gasconading threats or fulsome flattery to strengthen their party or influence.

I enclose you the returns of the Electors so far as have been received ; a few days will put us out of doubt ; indeed from the

\* This case is the capture of the American ship *Olive Branch* of Boston, Capt. Bryant, sailing from Ostend to New York with arms for the State of Vermont, as alleged, and captured by his Majesty's ship of war *Audacious*, Capt. Gould, on the 19th Nov., 1796, and carried into Portsmouth. It is further alluded to in Mr. Pickering's letter to Mr. King of April 6th and June 16th, 1797.—ED.

votes already in, and by the information we have, it almost is a certainty that Mr. Jefferson cannot be President : tho', probably by throwing away votes in some of the Eastern States for Pinckney to ensure Adams, he may be the V. President. His own party pretty much give up any expectation of his being President. Mr. Tichenor succeeds Gov. Robinson, Mr. Howard Mr. Potts, and Mr. Butler has resigned ; from these changes with our expectation of having a good man instead of Mr. Burr after the Third of March, I think we need not fear any machinations that can affect the Senate, and poor Langdon will be the only man East of the Potomac in the Senate to save us from going to the Devil, as his phrase is. Dearborn & Lyman will be left out, and Gov. Jay & Col. Hamilton inform me they expect a better representation from your State, tho' they fear James Watson is not popular enough to oust Livingston. Those who could have done it, could not be prevailed upon to stand Candidates. There is a better representation in this State, Delaware, Maryland, So. Carolina, and a better one expected from Virginia, so that we calculate upon having a decided majority of good men in our House of Representatives. . . .

It may be expected the threatenings of Adet may occasion much spouting and foaming in the House, touching the subjects of his complaints, but never fear ; we shall be steady and our Country will support us against these Disorganizers. I expect the French will practise on their Scheme of Spoliation ; but if they should, I hear of no person who supposes we would get anything by going to war with them. . . .

Your sincere friend,

B. GOODHUE.

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A. HAMILTON TO R. KING, LONDON.

NEW YORK, Dec. 16, 1796.

I have received, my dear Sir, your several letters of the 25th August 10th & 11th of Sept. You know my sentiments towards you too well to ascribe my Delay in answering them to any other than the imperiousness of avocations with which I could not dispense.

Public opinion, taking the Country at large, has continued since you left us to travel on in a right direction, and, I trust, will not easily deviate from it. You will have seen before this reaches you Mr. Adet's communications. We conjecture, as to the timing of them, that they were intended to influence the election of President by the apprehension of war with France. We suppose also they are designed in the same way to give support to the partizans of France, and that they have for eventual object the placing things in such a state as will leave France at liberty to slide easily into a renewal of cordiality or an *actual* or *virtual* war with the U. S. If the war of Europe continues, the efforts of France will be likely to be levelled, as a primary object, against the Commerce and Credit of Great Britain; and to injure these she may think it advisable to make war upon our Trade, forgetting perhaps that the consequence may be, to turn it more entirely into the channels of Great Britain. These reflexions will be obvious to you. I only make them to apprise you of the view which is taken of the subject here. Thus far appearances do not indicate that the purpose of influencing this Country has been obtained. I think in the main the effect has been to impress the necessity of adhering more firmly to the Government.

You need not be told that every exertion, not degrading to us, will be made to preserve peace with France. Many of the opposite party, however they may be pleased with appearances of ill humour in France, will not wish it to go to the length of war; and we shall endeavour to avoid it in pursuance of our general plan of preserving peace with all the world. Yet you may depend, that we shall not submit to be dictated to, or to be forced into a departure from our plan of neutrality unless to repel an attack upon us.

Our anxiety has been extreme on the subject of the Election for President. If we may trust our information, which there is every reason to trust, it is now decided that neither *Jefferson* nor *Burr* can be President. It must be either *Adams* or *Pinckney*, the *first most probably*. By the throwing away votes in New England, lest *Pinckney* should outrun *Adams*, it is not unlikely that *Jefferson* will be *Vice* President. The event will not a little mortify *Burr*. Virginia has given him only one Vote.

It was to be expected, of course, that the Senators' answer to

the President's speech would be flattering to him. But the result in the House of Representatives has been better than was expected. An address which I have not yet seen, but stated by our friends to be a very good one, passed the house with only twelve dissentients, confessedly of the most fiery spirits. The address is not only *generally* complimentary to the President, but includes, it is said, an *explicit approbation of his administration*, which caused the division. Edward Livingston is in the minority.

After giving you these consolatory accounts, I am now to dash the cup a little, by telling you that *Livingston* is in all probability re-elected in this City. The principal cause has been an *unacceptable* candidate on our part, *James Watson*. There were four Gentlemen who would certainly have succeeded, but neither of them would accept. In *Watson* we could not unite opinions; he was more *disagreeable* than I had supposed to a large body of our friends; and yet after the declining of the four persons alluded to, we could not do otherwise than support him: for he had gotten a strong hold on most of the leading mechanics who act with us.

But in the State at large, we shall better our representation, and I hope for a majority in the next house of Representatives. As an omen of this, there are *several new members* in Congress from different States, who hitherto vote with our friends.

The favourable change in the conduct of Great Britain towards us strengthens the hand of the friends of order and peace. It is more to be desired that a Treatment in all respects unexceptionable from that quarter should obviate all pretext to inflame the public mind. We are labouring hard to establish in this country principles more *national* and free from *foreign ingredients*; so that we may be neither "Greeks nor Trojans," but truly American. Adieu.

Affectly. yrs,  
A. HAMILTON.

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R. KING TO COL. HUMPHRIES.

LONDON, Dec. 29, 1796.

. . . Adet had announced to our Government, a decree of the Directory authorizing the capture of neutral vessels in like

manner and for the same causes as England captured them. Col. Pickering made a very proper reply to Mr. Adet's Note. I have not heard whether Mr. Pinckney has been recd. at Paris. I am inclined to believe that he has been, or soon will be received. The object of the apparent displeasure of the Directory no longer requires this stately behaviour, and I therefore conclude that the Directory in France and Mr. Adet in America will return to their former and more reasonable course of proceeding towards us. Nothing is more certain than that we sincerely desire to live in harmony and friendship with France; and of this Disposition we have given the most plain and solid proofs. We equally desire and are firmly resolved to be the independent Judges of our own interest and concerns. We think ourselves able to manage our own affairs, and observing Justice towards every other Nation, we are willing to be left to govern our own. If it is essential to the continuation of a friendship with France, that we should submit our Politicks and the Management of our affairs *to their Guidance* I think we shall not hesitate, or be embarrassed, in discovering our Duty. . . .

Farewell, &c., &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO GENERAL PINCKNEY.

LONDON, Jany. 2, 1797.

. . . I had thought much of your situation before Mr. Hall's arrival and I am convinced that the course you have pursued, has been the most proper that could have been adopted. It will require moderation, patience and firmness to finish the work you have so well begun. . . .

I am, Dear Sir, truly yours,

RUFUS KING.

The above letter was written in answer to a communication addressed to the Secretary of State by Mr. Pinckney, giving to him an account of the conduct of the Directory of France, in not receiving him as Minister, succeeding Mr. Monroe, and of his own course; he asked Mr. King to transmit the

same, first making a copy of it. It is an interesting statement of the circumstances connected with this refusal to receive him.

In the following letter to Mr. Pinckney, Mr. King expresses most clearly the views he held in reference to the charges so often made against him and those who acted with him, of an extreme fondness for England in the opinions they held, controlling their actions in the public affairs of the country. They could not indeed conceal their fear of the dangers to be encountered in surrendering the conduct of our government into the power of those who were carried away by a most unreasoning admiration for French methods and the French ideas then so prevalent, which had been so disastrous to other nations. Nor could they fail to see that with all her acts of unkindness and insolent assumption towards us, England was indeed the bulwark against French aggrandizement, and the nation from which we might receive in the end the fairest treatment, and which would contribute most to the growth of our commercial interests, though at the time looking most persistently and even unjustly after her own. Commercially England and the United States have always been rivals, and at this time, the younger country was only beginning to win the respect of other nations and thus to lay the foundations on which she might command and maintain it.

R. KING TO GENERAL PINCKNEY, PARIS.

LONDON, Jan'y. 14, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I have received no intelligence of the public opinion respecting Mr. Adet's Notes. The News Papers suggest that they have been published in order to influence the choice of a President ; and not it is said without having in some measure answered the purpose with the Quakers of Pennsylvania. How humiliating is this Reflection ! On carefully attending to, and examining, these complaints of Mr. Adet, it is plain that no just cause of offence has been given by us to the French Government. Our

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real sin, however it may be desired to conceal it, has been that neither our interest, nor inclination, led us to make common cause with France in the war against England. Most of the complaints preferred by Mr. Adet have again and again been discussed and refuted. Those which grow out of the Treaty with this Country, are built on gross misrepresentations and are quite unfounded. The pretended Vexations of French Privateers and prizes and the countenance by our Government of British Equipments in our ports are equally uncandid and destitute of support. Every man who has resided in America must recollect the great trouble we have had by repeated attempts to equip French Privateers in our Ports, and to engage our People to embark in their enterprizes so repugnant to our Interest and our Laws; and there is not a Frenchman who has visited our seaports who, if he will declare the truth, would not say that it has been impossible for the British openly to make an equipment of a single vessel in any of our Harbours. The most satisfactory answer might in my opinion be given to these notes, and such only I hope will be given; an answer which shall expose and correct the misstatements with which Mr. Adet's Notes abound; which shall demonstrate that we have been just to France and impartial to all Nations; that we are resolved to govern our own, and that we continue to be earnestly desirous to cultivate in every way compatible with self-respect, and the interest and honor of our Country, the esteem, the good-will and the friendship of France, in whose welfare and prosperity we have at all times taken not only a sincere but an affectionate concern. No step, in my belief, would have been more impolitic, none will in the end be more injurious to a beneficial connection between America and France, than that lately adopted, unless it is succeeded by one which Justice and sound Policy alike demand. I detest the idea that either France or England should really have any influence in the Government of America. I will not believe that such is our degraded condition. From causes too plain to be mistaken and too considerable not to have some influence there have existed a strong regard and sincere friendship among the people of America for those of France; but these have their limits and can be overcome. Much as France has been beloved, our own character, our honor, our national Independence not only of

France, but of all the rest of the world, are infinitely more dear to us than the interest we have taken in whatever concerned France. This will be proved beyond a doubt if France persists. But I will not tire you with observations which you must feel and know to be true. I still hope that you will witness more moderation, and experience a Treatment less extraordinary and more friendly than you have hitherto received. . . .

Truly yrs.,

RUFUS KING.

## CHAPTER XI.

Despatches to the Secretary of State relative to the Arrest in the Proceedings of Commissioners under the 7th Article—R. Troup on the Presidential Election and American Affairs—Treaty of Commerce with Turkey—Delays in Admiralty Courts in England—Law of the United States for the Protection of Seamen—R. King to Col. Hamilton ; Estimate of Washington in England, and of the Fairness of the British Government in Meeting Questions under the 7th Article—Good Feeling in England towards America Shown in a Letter of R. King to Washington—Maryland Bank Stock—Question of Retrocession of Louisiana to France—Letters giving the Result of the Presidential Election—Suspension of Specie Payments by the Bank of England—Condition of that Country—American Merchants ask for British Convoys on Account of French Captures.

### R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, Jany. 14, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

We sometime since were uneasy on account of certain embarrassments which for a time arrested the proceedings of the Commissioners and threatened to defeat the purposes of their appointment. These difficulties I have reason to think are overcome, a pretty full explanation of the extent of the Provision of the Seventh Article has taken place between me and this Government, and I now flatter myself that the Commissioners will not in future experience any serious obstructions to the fair and full execution of their Trust. I reserve a more detailed report on this subject to a future opportunity.\* Very few American Vessels have for some time past been taken by the British Cruizers in these seas. Three or four American ships bound with rich cargoes from Surinam to Amsterdam have been sent in and are in the course

\* See Appendix III.

of an admiralty trial. *Some discoveries unfavorable to the American claims have in one or two of these cases been made and operate against others in the same Trade.\**

I have for some time been endeavouring to obtain from Mr. Bayard an abstract, classing in a manner I have indicated to him the whole of the American claims. I hope soon to obtain it, when I shall be able to judge what measures remain to be adopted in order that we may not be charged with Delay, negligence or wilful omission. I am not however without my fears that this business has been conducted in a manner that we may have cause to regret. The mutual Reliance of the Claimants and of the Government on each other may have prevented either from obtaining such Documents and Proofs as may be found requisite to substantiate our Claims. What our true situation is in this respect, I cannot discover because *I have not been able to obtain such a view of the agency of Mr. B. and of the cases in his care as is necessary for this purpose.* I hope *we shall not ultimately find that greater talents were requisite in this agency than those that have been employed in it ; and it will be a real relief if I shall find the business in such a situation that past omissions can still be remedied.* . . . I have intended at an earlier period to mention to you the expediency of *precise instructions respecting the Receipt, deposit and Payment to the Proprietors of such Sums of money as may be paid upon the claims under the care of Mr. Bayard.* I have suggested to you my opinion on the subject of costs advanced by the Governments ; and I have lately learned that *Mr. Bayard expects and perhaps will claim a commission upon all sums paid by him to those to whom it belongs.* Having a strong and I think just aversion to the blending of *public and private Duties and the mingling of pub. with priv. emoluments,* I disapprove of this course of proceeding. In my opinion the *pay of the Government* ought to be considered as the *only compensation of its agents,* and all monies received by such *agents* on account of any of our citizens, ought to be paid to them without any deduction except of the advances for costs made on their account by the Government. The national character and the interests of individuals will in this manner be best secured.

\* Sentences in italics are in cipher here and elsewhere.

The money when received should be deposited with some safe banker, notice should be given to the Proprietors of the amount of their respective Portions, on whose Drafts, or to whose Agents duly authorized the same would be paid without delay or deduction. It will be easy to form a proper rule on this subject, its promulgation in America will put the Claimants on their guard against improper demands, and moreover will enable them to make seasonable arrangements for the Reception of their Money.

As this Business is in some degree connected with the Duties of my office, I think it due to myself as well as to the public interest, to intimate my Ideas on the subject. Knowing that, in pecuniary concerns in which the public as well as individuals are interested, nothing short of the utmost circumspection can shield a man from suspicions that often fasten themselves upon him. . . .

With perfect Respect,  
RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO GENL. PINCKNEY.-

LONDON, Jan'y. 20, 1797.

. . . I send you a few of the latest American Papers that I have received. They contain the President's Speech to Congress, and the address of the two Houses in answer. They have afforded me much satisfaction, as I consider them as strong Testimonials of what all my letters concur in stating to be the case, that the public opinion, taking the country at large, is sound and right ; the addresses of the two Houses are not only highly complimentary to the President, but they contain an explicit approbation of his administration. Principles more and more national appear in every quarter of the Union, strong marks of displeasure on the subject of foreign influence and foreign interferences in our affairs are likewise seen in the different News Papers ; so that I think it will be soon perceived that we are neither *Greeks* nor *Trojans*, but truly Americans. . . .

Farewell, yrs. very Sincerely,  
RUFUS KING.

## R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 28 Jan., 1797.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . Our election for President and Vice President has terminated. It is admitted on all hands that Adams is to be our President and Jefferson our Vice President. . . . The Eastern States were afraid of voting generally for Pinckney lest they should make him outstrip Adams; and this policy has lost us one of our Candidates. Burr was left very much in the background; even in Virginia where his greatest strength was supposed to lie he had but one vote. The antifederal party affect at present to be well pleased with the fate of the election, and they are now fraternizing with Adams and his particular friends and endeavoring to raise an opinion that Hamilton and his friends wished to bring Pinckney forward in preference to him. In this State we voted unanimously Adams and Pinckney. This was the case also with New Jersey. As the event of the election was all important and extremely critical, we judged it the soundest policy to take a double chance—the contrary policy put everything at hazard, and we have made a hairbreadth escape. Jefferson, his friends say, will serve.

The public mind is at present much engaged with the letter from our Secretary of State to our Minister at Paris, in answer to Mr. Adet's note of the 15th of November last. . . . I think Mr. Pickering has given a satisfactory refutation to all the charges contained in Mr. Adet's note. . . . Adet and his party have injured their cause by the means they have taken. I have not met a man who does not condemn his note. All the friends of peace, which constitute the great mass of our fellow citizens consider it as one of the most insulting and offensive addresses that ever was made to a government or a people. Adet having suspended himself remains suspended. . . . What is to be the result of the present state of things with France we cannot even conjecture. The general opinion is that we shall rub along without a war. An embargo has lately been talked of in consequence of the serious depredations on our commerce in the West Indies by the French; but I doubt whether the measure will be adopted. . . .

The only subject which during the present sessions (of Congress) has occasioned any warmth in the House of Representatives, is a resolution which lately passed for calling upon the *debtor States* to pay their *balances*. Lawrance writes me that he is not without hopes of a satisfactory result.

The payment of the balance due, or appearing to be due from this State is a subject much debated with us. I confess I feel awkwardly and unpleasantly on the occasion. If we are called upon to pay, our State will give an answer that I presume will go into the merits of the claim. W. Smith of South Carolina has been very active in Congress in urging the claim. Benson says he is the last man in the world to have engaged in the measure. What will be the final issue of this business is very uncertain. It certainly creates embarrassment and excites feelings that are to be regretted. . . .

Burr is now here. He has during the present session paid little, or no, attention to his duties in the Senate. It is whispered that his money engagements are embarrassing to him. . . .

By the by, do you know that I am Lawrance's successor—the fact is undoubtedly so. I have in consequence begun to powder my hair—and in a full suit of black with powdered hair I have appeared on the bench thus far with some advantage. All admire the decorum and gravity with which I conduct myself. Hamilton and Lawrance are the cause of my metamorphose. . . . You have no conception how high the necessaries of life, labour, &c., still continue. Every month brings after it some addition to prices. The pressure for money in every part of the continent is beyond example. This arises from the large sum locked up in France; the depredations upon our trade by the French which are enormous; the over speculations as well by merchants, as by land-jobbers, and other causes that will readily occur to you. Failures here are becoming common; not a man amongst us that is in business but what is extremely driven for money. . . . This state of things is a source of innumerable mischiefs to us, and I pray that we may soon experience a release. . . .

Hamilton has for some time past been laid up with a lame leg, got by watching the City. Have you heard that within two months past frequent attempts have been made to burn the City? It is the case. The like attempts have been made in Philadel-

phia. Who are concerned in them, or what in particular has led to them we cannot discover. The consequence, however, has been a serious alarm, which produced a nightly watch consisting of about 20 in each ward. From this duty no person is considered as exempt if health will permit his service. A few nights ago Col. Hamilton and Col. Troup had the honor of being reduced to the ranks, serving under Capt. Low, ci-devant Governor Low. I do not believe the watching in this way will continue much longer; the fear has lessened. . .

Very sincerely and affectionately,

ROB. TROUP.

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R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, Jany. 24, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

In one or two conversations with the Turkish Ambassador at this court relating to a *Treaty of Commerce*, I should infer, *if reliance can be placed on his opinion*, that there would *not be much difficulty in our concluding a valuable Treaty with that Power*. On this subject I take the liberty to inclose a letter sent to me by Mr. Bird which has been addressed to him by Mr. Abot, who was born & has for many years resided at Constantinople. . . .

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Jany. 24, 1797.

MY LORD :

From considerations perfectly respectful to his Majesty's government, it is with reluctance that I find myself obliged to represent to your Lordship the numerous complaints of the delays which have been experienced by the American citizens and which continue to prevent decisions in the causes pending in the High Court of Admiralty. These causes are very important both in number and value. Many of them for a very long time have been ready for trial; in all of them the Claimants are exposed to heavy expenses in the prosecution of their claims, and in some instances they are threatened with heavy losses by the detention of their

property, in consequence of which other of their commercial concerns are deranged and placed in a ruinous situation. I am sensible that a prompt administration of Justice by his Majesty's Courts is enjoined by the highest and most venerable Authority. I likewise know that this authority is equally obligatory upon the highest court of Admiralty as upon the other Branches of the judicial Department, in addition to which, the act commonly called the Prize act, conformable to the equitable and just Principles of public Law, prescribes and limits the time within which all Questions of Prize shall be decided by this court. It would ill become me, my Lord, to inquire into the causes of the delays complained of, if on investigation these complaints shall appear to be well founded ; but it is my duty to state to your Lordship that a long catalogue of American Causes, in which these captures took place so long ago, as the period when the Island of Martinique was conquered by his Majesty's Forces, and in which the Claimants for a long time have been prepared for Trial, remain undecided ; and that others, some of which are attended with circumstances of peculiar hardship, are likewise ready for a hearing, but no decision can be had.

Having full reliance upon the Justice of his Majesty's Government, and being likewise impressed with the belief that the subject of these complaints is not without a remedy, I take the liberty to request your Lordship's interference in order that, by such means as shall be deemed proper, future delays may be prevented, and a speedy Trial be had in the said American Causes.

With the greatest satisfaction, I avail myself of this occasion to assure your Lordship of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be your obed. & very humble servant.

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Jan'y. 28, 1797.

MY LORD :

I have the honor to send your Lordship the copy of a Law of the United States for the relief and protection of American Seamen, likewise the copy of an Instruction given by the President

to the Collectors of the several Districts, which supplies an omission in this Law and prescribes the Evidence, on which alone Certificates of Citizenship may be granted by such Collectors, and also a copy of the first section of the law of the United States prescribing an uniform Rule of naturalization. I flatter myself that your Lordship will perceive in these Documents the care and caution that the American Government have observed, in order that those only who are justly entitled should obtain Certificates of American Citizenship. It is not my present purpose to enter into an Examination of the precise limits of the Consular Jurisdiction and Functions, which your Lordship conceives do not extend to give a right to the American Consuls to grant Certificates of Citizenship to the Seamen of that Nation, who come, or are brought within his Majesty's Dominions ; I think it however my Duty to observe, that on careful Enquiry I find it to have been the antient practice of the Consuls of Maritime Nations, resident within his Majesty's Dominions, *ex officio*, to grant Certificates of this kind ; and that this practice is still, as I am informed, pursued by the Consuls of Denmark, Sweden & Portugal, and probably by those of other Nations. \* I ought also to add that from the best Examination I have been able to give the subject, I cannot but be of the opinion, with becoming deference for the Sentiments of his Majesty's Government, that, under proper Regulations, the Exercise of this Power is both an important, and especially between America & Great Britain, the most material, portion of the Consular Rights. I make this observation, my Lord, not to invite a discussion of the Question, but for the sole purpose of precluding any Inference that might result from its not having been made on this occasion.

The object of this communication is to represent to your Lordship, that in consequence of the relations of Peace and friendship subsisting between America and Great Britain which give, and of the fourteenth Article of the Treaty lately concluded between them which confirms, to the People and Inhabitants of the United

\* See Lord Grenville ; Letter to R. K., p. 119 of this volume, denying this right and requesting R. K. to notify the Consuls to abstain from granting these Certificates as "neither sanctioned by the law and usage of nations, nor by any treaty between the two Govts."

States, a Right, securely to resort to, and to reside in his Majesty's European Dominions, great numbers of American Citizens, and especially of the class which compose the Seamen engaged in the American Navigation, are from Time to Time arriving within, and in the prosecution of their lawful concerns frequenting, his Majesty's said European Dominions, many of whom have no Certificates of Citizenship, in some instances having omitted to obtain the same within the United States, and in others the Certificates, which had been so obtained, having by the casualties of seafaring Lives been destroyed. These seamen who cannot easily be distinguished by language or manners from those of Great Britain, are while employed on board American Ships, and on Shore, daily seized, and contrary to their will, impressed into his Majesty's Service, to the manifest injury of their personal Rights, and to the material detriment and disadvantage of the American Navigation and Commerce. So long as our Consuls were in the Practice of granting Protections to American Seamen, these injuries and inconveniences were less frequent, and more easily remedied. The Laws of the United States authorize, but do not *compel*, their Seamen to take out Certificates of Citizenship, within the United States ; and the Practice is not uncommon, that they omit to obtain such Certificates ; and place their dependence upon the assistance of the Consuls in case of interruption in any of the Ports of his Majesty's European Dominions.

Some few irregularities, it is possible, may unintentionally have happened in the granting of Protections by the American Consuls, as no precise instructions for the Regulation of their Conduct in this respect, have heretofore been given to them. To avoid similar irregularities in future, and to afford the Protection which is indispensably due to the American Seamen within his Majesty's European Dominions, I have the honor to submit to your Lordship, the following propositions—

1. That the American Consuls shall hereafter grant Certificates of Citizenship, in the Form prescribed in the inclosed Law, to such American Seamen as shall prove themselves entitled to receive the same.

2. In order that no persons, except those who are so entitled, should receive such Certificates, That an instruction similar, to and founded upon that given by the President to the Collectors,

should be given by me to the several American Consuls for the government of their conduct.

3. That instructions should be given by the proper Department of his Majesty's Government, to his Majesty's Naval Officers to respect such Certificates issued by the American Consuls.

Convinced of the Disposition of his Majesty's Government to remove effectually and as fast as possible every cause of Inquietude and Discontent between the two countries and to strengthen the good understanding and friendship which subsist between them, I persuade myself that your Lordship will see no objection sufficiently weighty to prevent the early Adoption of the Propositions, which appear to me, my Lord, to be essential to the security of the commerce and navigation of my Country.

I cannot express to your Lordship in language too strong, my thorough conviction of the importance of this Subject to the Mutual Harmony of the two Countries, which it is my earnest Desire should be uninterrupted and perpetual ; nor can I cease to entertain the Expectation that his Majesty's Government will, with as little Delay as possible, meet the overtures of the United States and proceed to those mutual Discussions, which, it is believed, must lead to the permanent settlement of Principles and Rules, by which the Seamen, belonging to the respective Nations, may in all Situations hereafter be known & distinguished.

This done, the Regulations that I have the honor to submit to your Lordship's consideration, will cease to be necessary.

With high consideration, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO COL. HAMILTON.

LONDON, Feb. 6, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 16th of Decr., and I need not express the satisfaction, which the information that it contained afforded me. The probable termination of the Election of Pr., the general Temper of the Country, and the Effect likely to be produced by Mr. Adet's Notes, are such as I had not only hoped but expected : if by prudence and Firmness,

which have hitherto kept us out of this extraordinary and desolating war, we shall be able to maintain the public peace and national Honor, we shall not only increase our Reputation as a wise people, but we shall moreover establish a Precedent of inestimable worth for future Times of Trouble and Embarrassment. Nothing can exceed the applause that is given here to our Government, and no American who has not been in England can have a just Idea of the admiration expressed among all Parties of General Washington. It is a common observation that he is not only the most illustrious but also the most meritorious character that has hitherto appeared. The King is without doubt a very popular character among the People of this Nation : it would be saying very much to affirm, that next to him, General Washington is the most popular character among them, and yet I verily believe this to be the fact.

I mention these Circumstances, not only because it will give you, as it has afforded me, much pleasure to hear them mentioned, but also because they show a more liberal manner of thinking and speaking respecting us, and a more rational estimate of our affairs than formerly existed. Much credit is due to Mr. Jay on this Score, who we thought would do honor and be of advantage to our country, but who has done much more than I could have imagined, had I not seen the clearest proofs of his success. He had great difficulties to encounter, he overcame many of them, some still exist & when they will be removed I am unable to say. Time and patience are necessary to form a satisfactory opinion how far we shall finally be able to agree. In the main our affairs here are in a good train, the treaty I think will be fairly and fully executed. You remember the opinion given by certain Gentlemen upon the Construction of the 7th Article of the Treaty. We have experienced embarrassments on this subject, and for several weeks the business of the Commissioners was entirely at a stand ; the advocate of this Government having denied their Power to examine any question that had been decided by the H. Court of Appeals. The question was delicate ; the pride, and as it was alleged, the importance of men of Rank and Influence were almost enlisted against our pretensions ; and a little imprudence might have thrown the Business into the worst possible situation : this did not happen ; with moderation, caution and a conciliatory mode of

proceeding these difficulties have been entirely removed, and all is now proceeding in a satisfactory manner. The result of several conferences has been, after the manifestation of much candor and fairness on the part of this Government, a direction to the British Commissioners to unite with ours and to proceed to hear and decide every question that shall be brought before them according to the Provisions of the Treaty, which it was added it was the Duty of the Commrs. to consider and interpret. . . .

By letters received to-day from Paris, I have the unpleasant information that Genl. Pinckney was on the 28th ulto. ordered by the Directory to leave Paris, and that he intended to depart for Holland (where he will wait the orders of our Govt.) on the 31st. I cannot fully account for this step, after the irresolution that for some time has existed ; whether it is to be ascribed to information which has been thought sufficient to satisfy the Directory of the Result of the Election for Pr., or whether it is to be attributed to the late astonishing victories of Buonaparte, which have latterly destroyed an army of 40,000 Austrians, I am uncertain ; perhaps both have contributed to this extraordinary step.

Yours very sincerely

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO GENL. WASHINGTON.

LONDON, Feby. 6, 1797.

SIR :

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 22d of December. Count Rumford being in Bavaria, I have requested the minister of that country at this court, to forward your letter to the count with his next dispatch. . . .

Our affairs here relative to the execution of the Treaty are in a good train ; some delays and difficulties have existed, but they exist no longer, and the Commissioners are going on in a satisfactory manner. In the Conferences that I have had with this Government upon these and other Topics, I have found them candid and impartial in as great a degree as I had expected. Several important points not settled by the Treaty still remain open ; and both time and patience are requisite even now to form a safe opinion how far we shall in the end be able to agree. I think I am not deceived in supposing that a sincere and general

desire exists in this country to live in harmony and friendship with us. This disposition is however fettered and enfeebled by Prejudices and Opinions connected with the national commerce and marine, which make the Government slow and cautious in every step which has a reference to these important concerns.

Some uneasiness has been manifested here for some few weeks past concerning the situation of the British Territories in the E. Indies. It is not very easy to obtain good information upon this Subject, but there is reason to believe that much disaffection exists among the native troops in the Company's Service. The Establishment is understood to be 20,000 Europeans and 60,000 native or Black troops. Whatever the origin of these discontents may have been, and they are supposed to be of several years' standing, they have lately risen to such a pitch that the local Government of India has been compelled first to temporise, and then, as is commonly the consequence, to submit to measures they were unable to prevent. Lord Cornwallis is suddenly to be sent to Bengal, and with such extensive powers as it is hoped will enable him to restore tranquillity. What may be his success my w accurate information forbids me to conjecture. . . .

With perfect Respect, I have the honor, &c.

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Feby. 10, 1797.

MY LORD :

Long antecedent to the year 1775, the Assembly of the Colony of Maryland invested a large sum of money, *collected from the Inhabitants thereof*, in the capital stock of the Bank of England. The object of this investment was to aid the credit and promote the local welfare of the Inhabitants of the colony. This Stock for the convenience of its management was purchased, and stood, in the names of certain British subjects, resident in England. The Dividends pursuant to the direction of the Colony's Legislature, were, for a series of years, invested in the same stock, and thus the property belonging to the said Colony in the year 1775, had increased to the sum of Twenty-nine Thousand Pounds sterling of the said capital stock of the Bank of England.

The Trustees continuing to reinvest the Dividends, have thereby since augmented the said Property to a still greater sum. In the year 1783, the Legislature of the State of Maryland authorized the appointment of an agent for the purpose of receiving from the said Trustees, or their Survivors, a transfer of the said stock, together with all monies that had arisen from the same, & which had not been reinvested. One of the said Trustees having refused to join in such Transfer & Payment, a Suit or Suits were instituted in his Majesty's high Court of Chancery to compel the same. These Suits, in which his Majesty's attorney-general has been made a party, are still depending, and the State of Maryland is unable to obtain possession of the said property, inasmuch as it is alledged that the Crown has an interest in the same. In this Situation the State of Maryland made application to the President of the United States, who has instructed me to employ such proper means as should be deemed advisable, in order to obtain for the said State the possession and enjoyment of the said Property.

Without entering into a discussion of the Reasons on which the right of his Majesty is supposed to be founded, my full and perfect confidence in his Majesty's equity induces me to rely with Satisfaction that his Majesty, when he shall be informed of the nature and circumstances of this case, will be pleased to relinquish the claim to the said Property, that the Crown has been supposed to have, and that in consequence of the Request, which in obedience to the Instructions of the President of the United States I have the honor to make, his Majesty will moreover authorize and appoint, that the said Property should be assigned transferred and paid to me, by the Accomptant General of his Majesty's high Court of Chancery (in whose possession the same is) to and for the use of the State of Maryland.

From the experience that my short Residence near his Majesty has given me, of your Lordship's disposition to countenance and assist those measures which are truly calculated to increase and confirm the Harmony and good will that happily subsist between the United States & Great Britain, I feel assured on this occasion of your Lordship's good offices and obliging interference, which I take the liberty to solicit.

With high consideration I have the honor &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

## T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Feby. 15, 1797.

. . . By the news papers you will find Mr. Monroe's information mentioned in your letter of Oct. 10th has been more than verified. The French armed vessels have captured ours not only when they had enemy's property or contraband goods on board, according to the enumeration of such goods in our Treaty with Great Britain but merely because they were going to or from a British port. This has been done in Europe. Two American vessels had been carried into Spain by French Privateers, about the 10th of September last, before even the general Decree of the Directory (of July 2d) had been made known to our Consuls, and the French Consul at Cadiz avowed his authority to condemn them, under the order of the Directory.

But in the West Indies, the proceedings of the public agents and of the Privateers have set all justice at defiance. Lanthornax and the other commissioners at St. Domingo have issued a decree explicitly directing the capture of *American* (not generally *Neutral*) vessels bound to or from a British Port. Great numbers have been taken under this order. . . .

The letters received from Col. Talbot (agent to the British W. Indies) show that his mission has been, and will be useful in liberating some of our seamen and preventing the impressment of others. Admiral Harney at Martinico and Admiral Bligh at Jamaica treated him with the utmost politeness, released the Americans found on board their own ships, and gave orders for the discharge of all found in the ships under their command. But some of the Commanders of Ships behaved very differently and reluctantly complied with the order of the Admirals, or in part evaded them; at the same time treating Col. Talbot with disrespect. Hence we feel strongly the necessity of some other arrangement for the protection of our Citizens, and which it was hoped you would have been able to accomplish. But the subject presents many difficulties, especially when you look beyond the protection of native citizens; and your design of using conciliatory means in the negotiation can alone be eligible.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

## T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

In Cipher.

Feby. 15, 1797.

SIR :

We have often heard that the French Government contemplated the repossession of Louisiana, and it has been conjectured that in their negotiations with Spain the cession of Louisiana and the Floridas may have been agreed on. You will see all the mischief to be apprehended from such an event ; the Spaniards will certainly be more safe and quiet neighbours ; for her own sake Spain should absolutely refuse to make these cessions.

One of our citizens who resided many years at New Orleans, and who was acquainted with Don Galvez, who had been Viceroy of Mexico, says Don Galvez considered Louisiana, notwithstanding the distance between them, as the door of Mexico, and consequently of the highest importance to Spain to retain in her hands. We do not know what opportunity can occur to you for throwing obstacles in the way of the conclusion of this project of the French Government. We know it has been an object very dear to them ; it was expressly avowed by one of their ministers here to Mr. Randolph. Mr. Adet said "he knew that the cession of Louisiana to France was a preliminary to be insisted on by France as a negotiation with Spain." We are happy to recollect that the public Treaty between them announced only the cession of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, which we hoped was offered and accepted as an equivalent for Louisiana, and that Spain would not yield the latter. The President desires that you will keep this affair in your mind to discover whether the design exists and to counteract it by any proper —, should your situation put anything in your power.

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## A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.

Feby. 15, 1797.

MY DR SIR :

. . . You must not think I forget you because I do not write (for this is only my third letter). I am overwhelmed in professional business, and have scarcely a moment for anything else.

You will have learnt the terrible depredations which the French have committed upon our Trade in the West Indies, on the declared principle of intercepting our whole Trade with the ports of her enemies. This conduct is making the impression which might be expected, though not with that electric rapidity which would have attended similar Treatment from another power. The present session of Congress is likely to be very unproductive. That body is in the situation which we foresaw certain *Anti-executive* maxims would bring them to.

Mr. Adams is President, Mr. Jefferson Vice President. Our Jacobins say they are well pleased, and that the *Lion* & the *Lamb* are to lie down together. Mr. Adams' PERSONAL friends talk a little in the same way. Mr. *Jefferson* is not half so ill a man as we have been accustomed to think him. There is to be a united and vigorous administration. Sceptics like me quietly look forward to the event, willing to hope, but not prepared to believe. If Mr. Adams has *Vanity*, 't is plain, a plot has been laid to take hold of it. We trust his real good sense and integrity will be a sufficient shield.

Yrs. affectly.

A. HAMILTON.

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R. KING TO RICHARD CODMAN, PARIS.

LONDON, Feby. 20, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

I have had the pleasure to receive your favor by Mr. Whittemore and am pleased to hear that no unfavorable change in the situation of our Countrymen in Paris has taken place since the departure of General Pinckney. We have nothing new from home, but every day expect the confirmation of Mr. Adams' election to the Presidency. I regret very much the apparent misunderstanding between our country and France. As we think and act respecting National Rights and Duties different from any of the European Nations—always preferring peace to war, with the same decision as we prefer the friendship to the enmity of France, I am persuaded that we shall display in our conduct upon this occasion a wisdom and moderation which will compose an honorable contrast to the ill advised and erroneous proceedings

of those who are without a title to the character of the real friends of France or America. We shall incontestably prove, notwithstanding the sounding, and often-repeated, Professions of France, that we are in reality more sincere friends to her and her interests than she is or has been to us, and ours. Against her creeds of Republicanism, we shall place the modesty, the justice and the firmness of real Republicans. Hence I conclude that there will be no war between France and America, unless France makes war upon us, which I hope and believe she will be too wise and just to do. . . .

Very sincerely yrs.

RUFUS KING.

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THOMAS PINCKNEY TO R. KING, LONDON.

CHARLESTON, Feby. 21, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

I have to thank you for your favor of the 19th of November enclosing sundry letters to my address. I wish I had any agreeable intelligence to communicate to you from this country, but great commercial distress in our cities, our trade much harassed in the American seas, particularly by the cruisers of the French Republic, & much party spirit prevailing within our country, form the general description of our affairs. This spirit of party was particularly called forth by the late election & I feel extremely happy that I was not called upon to sacrifice my domestic tranquillity and risk the total ruin of my private fortune by being again brought forward into public life.

I hope you are now compleatly settled to your satisfaction in Cumberland Place ; the neighbourhood of our amiable friend Mr. Gore and his lady must add greatly to the comforts of your situation. Indeed I think you must feel yourself much supported in the social line by all the public agents of the United States in London. . . .

With sincere regard & esteem

Your faithful & obedt.

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

## R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, Mar. 5, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

The unexpected and total defeat of the Austrians in Lombardy, followed by the fall of Mantua, to which the Treasure of the neighbouring country had been removed for safety, produced a serious despondency in the public Opinion of this country. The expedition against Ireland, tho' it failed, increased the public inquietude, by refuting the consoling opinion that England was safe against invasion, so long as she could maintain a decided superiority upon the Ocean. The effects of these events have been strengthened by the continuation of the *practice of alarming the Country in order that the means of prosecuting the war might more easily be obtained*.\* The consequence has been that the Fears and Despondency of the Nation have been such, as to materially impair that confidence so necessary in conducting the affairs of every Nation, and without which the means of administering this Government are annihilated. The alarm first commenced in the country, and the provincial Banks, being pressed for Specie beyond the customary demand, had recourse to the Metropolis, and the Bank of England was put in requisition to supply their wants. The National Stocks in which most of the Provincial Banks had invested a Portion of their Capitals, were in this Emergency brought in large sums into the market, for the purpose of being converted into Specie, and thereby the Funds suffered an alarming Depression. This joined to the Failure of several country Banks increased the public apprehensions and augmented the Demands for Specie upon the Bank of England. The quantity of Specie in the Vaults of the Bank is not publicly known, but without Doubt it has always been much beneath the sum generally supposed to be deposited there. The strongest objection, or at least one of them, against the Bank combination is that Bank Paper, in itself of little or no value, excludes from the country in too great a degree real money or specie, which possesses intrinsic worth. Credit has nowhere been more perfect than in England, and the Substitution of Paper, including the public stocks as well as bank notes, in lieu of Specie, been equally extensive and gen-

\* Italics in cipher.

eral in any other Country, and to this cause in a considerable degree must be ascribed the small quantity of actual Coin to be found in England, compared with the sum in circulation in other Commercial Countries.

It is not extraordinary then that the principal Depository of the national Coin, when called on at a period of Despondency and of general alarm, to give it in exchange for that which had before passed as of equal value, because it was esteemed an instant power over an equivalent Sum, should be unable either from its actual deposits, or from the contributions of its Patrons and Friends to perform its Engagements. This was in fact discovered to be the Situation of the Bank of England on Saturday, the 26th of February ; and on the communication thereof to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the King was brought from Windsor on Sunday to attend a Council, which passed an Order requiring the Bank to stop the further issue of Specie ; and accordingly on Monday the 28th, the Bank refused Specie for their notes, and also to their other creditors. Committees were immediately named by the several Houses of Parliament, to examine the affairs of the Bank, which have reported the amount of the Debts which the Bank owe, and likewise of the Debts due to the Bank, together with their other effects (exclusive of their funded capital) applicable to the payment of their Engagements. The result of these Reports confirms the Declaration of the Directors, that there is a difference of more than three millions sterling in favor of the Bank, between the amount of debts they owe and that of the effects applicable to the payment thereof.

Parliament have passed two Bills, one enabling the Bank to issue notes for any sum less than £5. ; the other enabling the Manufacturers, Bankers and others, to issue small notes payable on Demand, which by the existing Laws they were prohibited to do. The object of the first has been to enable the Bank to supply the Absence of Guineas by 20/ and 40/ notes ; and of the second, to allow the Manufacturers who employ great numbers of workmen, whom they pay weekly, to give them their own notes in lieu of Specie. Parliament will probably go on, and pass another Bill sanctioning and continuing for a limited Time the Prohibition upon the Bank to issue Specie ; they will likewise make Bank notes receivable in Payment of Taxes, and also by the public

Creditor in Payment of the Annuities, or Dividends upon the National Debt. Associations have been formed in London, and throughout the Kingdom to receive and circulate Bank Notes ; and for a time this may secure to them a general currency. But unless they can be converted into Specie, they will depreciate : indeed they are at this moment at a depreciation, by the Preference that universally exists of Gold and Silver, which have disappeared and are no longer in Circulation.

This Depreciation is proved likewise by the sudden rise of foreign Exchange and also by the Demand for the American Stocks, which have risen since the Bank stopped payment in Specie. Bank Stock from £103 to £117 per share. Six per cents from 80 to 90 per cent ; three per cents from 49 to 55 per cent : while the British three per cents have vibrated between 50 and 52 per cent. It is commonly said that this Embarrassment will be but of short Duration, and that the Bank will soon resume its former course of payments ; but I do not see the subject in this favorable Light. What influence the event may have *on the Duration of the war, what changes it may effect in the Ministry*, in short *what misfortunes this event will draw down upon this nation*, is beyond human foresight to discern. I see but little chance against a *National Bankruptcy* ; an event that the progressive accumulation of their public Debt has menaced but which no one seems to have supposed so near at hand.\*

With perfect respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, March 12, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . We are embarrassed to decide how far the french Government will carry their measures of vexation towards our Commerce : Though but few Instances of Captures have occurred in these Seas, yet these joined to the apparent misunderstanding

\* Italics in cipher.

between us and France, have imposed a heavy Tax upon our Commerce with this country by the enormous increase of Premiums demanded and given to insure our Ships & Cargoes. . . . The persons principally concerned in the American Business, as well as the underwriters upon the American Ships & Cargoes *have been desirous that our Ships and Cargoes should take a British Convoy ; a committee of merchants have applied to this government on the subject. This was all without consulting me, an opinion being entertained, as I am informed, that it would not be advisable that I should be consulted, since it was supposed that I should not think myself authorized to give the measure my support. From several indirect suggestions I had seen that the Government would order a Convoy if I should ask it. I had therefore well considered the subject before this movement among the merchants occurred. I saw it to be a measure too important to suffer my opinion respecting it to be misunderstood. I went therefore to Lord Grenville's office, and said not only that the project was without my approbation, that moreover I desired to be understood as explicitly objecting to the measure as one too decisive to be adopted except upon the plain and direct application of the American Government. Having since heard little of the scheme, I suppose that it has been laid aside. I however think that it would be proper that I should know the President's way of thinking upon this subject, should unfortunately a state of things exist that would make such a measure more proper than it would be under present circumstances.*

Mr. Adams will inform you from the Hague of what is passing in that quarter : but least his opportunities of writing should be less frequent than mine, it may be proper to state, that I have reason to believe, tho' the *French Government assigns our Treaty with England as the cause of their maritime conduct towards us, they have recently demanded of Hamburg and Bremen to suspend all commerce with England. These cities have not yet complied, and the French Minister has been removed from Hamburg. The same demand has been made at Copenhagen, and the refusal has produced a sharp diplomatic controversy ; these powers have made no late Treaties with England.\** . . .

With perfect respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

\* Italics in cipher.

## R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.\*

March 8, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

On the 28th ult., the Bank of England stopped payment in specie and since every bank in Great Britain has followed its example.† . . . Many whom I meet profess to believe that the bank will soon be able to resume their former course of payments. But I see so few of the causes (if they exist) which are to effect this restoration, that I am somewhat skeptical, and my want of faith is in some measure excused by circumstances that I think will for the present prevent the return of the golden age. No nation has supported a more perfect credit than England. None has been able to substitute in so great a degree paper in lieu of coin—and in no country, therefore, is the quantity of specie comparatively so small as in England. This fact was not practically believed. The Bank has now proved it to the conviction and dismay of the country. . . .

Farewell yours sincerely.

P. S. Since the capture of Mantua, the Austrians have notified this court of their resolution to prosecute the war—relying on the co-operation of Great Britain. What effect the pecuniary state of England may have upon their disposition to persevere, I will not conjecture. Without moneys the Emperor will not be able to go on. Thus you see a very interesting subject brought within a narrow compass. France will harass and waste our commerce, regardless of justice. She makes our treaty with England the pretence. Had we made no treaty her conduct would have been the same. She has recently required of Hamburg and Bremen to suspend and prohibit all commerce with England—and yet she has not succeeded in her views, though she has recalled her minister from Hamburgh. The demand has likewise been repeated at Copenhagen, and a refusal to comply has produced a diplomatic altercation, as pointed perhaps, as that between Colonel Pickering and Mr. Adet.

Our affairs in the Mediterranean are settled, or nearly so. Col. Humphries informs me that we stand well with Algiers. We have

\* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 211.

† The details of this suspension are seen in the letter to the Secretary of State, March 5, 1797.

concluded a treaty of peace with Tripoli, and it is probable we shall soon make a similar one with Tunis. The Dey of Algiers having invaded the Tunisesean territory—principally, says Col. Humphries, to compel the Bey to conclude a peace with the United States of America, for the accomplishment of which the Dey offers to advance the money from his own treasury, and engages to guarantee this treaty as he has done that with Tripoli. Strange event.

## CHAPTER XII.

Sedgwick's Letter on the presidential Election and Inauguration—Cabot on Relations with France—King to Dr. Southgate—Private Affairs—To Hamilton on new French Arrêt—Affair of the Olive Branch—Wm. Smith's Letter on French Depredations—Pinckney's Despatches Relative to Conduct of the French Causes the President to call a special Meeting of Congress—General Statement of American Affairs—Hamilton's View of the Duty of the Country.

THEODORE SEDGWICK TO R. KING, LONDON.

STOCKBRIDGE, 12th March, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . The scenes which have passed here, since you left the country, to every man who is interested in its welfare, have been highly important. The retirement of Genl. Washington from the Presidency, and the subsequent election have produced an ardor far exceeding all former experience. Men of a character the most congenial to your own, and in whom I believe you have the most confidence, thought that in our critical situation the object of most importance was to exclude the *Virginia Philosopher* from the chair, endeavored, as they might, to exclude him by impressing their own sentiments on the electors and inducing them to vote homogeneously from the Delaware eastward for Pinckney & Adams. Had those views, and in them I concurred, prevailed, the former would have been President and the latter continued in his former station. What effects that arrangement would have produced can now only be a subject of conjecture. The attempt however has afforded abundant matter for jacobinical intrigue. The first display of this was a letter from Mr. Jefferson to his friend Madison, which was disclosed, *in confidence*, within one or two days after the event of the election was certainly known. In the letter the writer states that he may be placed in three situa-

tions in relation to this subject. The first, and that which would be most grateful to himself, that he may not be elected to, or a candidate for either of the offices of Prest. or Vice Prest. ; the second, that he may be the competitor of Mr. Adams, & the competition to be decided by the H. of Representatives, in which case he earnestly requests that his own pretensions may be withdrawn in favor of the preferable ones of his rival ; and the third, (which he most dreads) that he may be elected President. Concurring in this system of insidious deception, the faction have been industrious in declaring that *it was evidently the intention of Hamilton & his party* (so when speaking on this subject they denominated the friends of the Government) *that Mr. Pinckney should be elected as President, because him they believed they could govern, and Mr. Adams they knew they could not.* You will perceive that Mr. Jefferson is profering the same objects in his speech to the Senate, when he took his seat as Vice Prest. It is really to be regretted that these Ideas had not occurred to the "Friend of the People" a few weeks sooner ; he might then have spared the good man, whom he so highly reveres, much unmerited abuse, and his friends much painful anxiety.

The late session has been one of the most unpleasant which I have known. Our friends in the House, knowing their adversaries to be a majority, have despaired of effecting any public good, and have, therefore, permitted the Session to pass without one generous effort. The same impression as to the character of the House, has given the same apprehension of indolent inactivity to the Senate.

Two objects of importance present themselves, the one, an improvement of revenue, and the other, giving to the executive the means of checking the depredations on our commerce. An increase of revenue I do not believe to be immediately *necessary* to discharge existing demands. It was however most certainly *desirable* in our critical situation. In this all parties were agreed. but as to the means, there was not a majority for anything except a paltry increase of imposts, which will produce, probably between 2 & 300,000 dols.—a sum less than the diminution by French robbery. To check the insolent oppression of the french the most obvious, and I believe the most effectual measure which could have been adopted, would have been to have authorized the

President to lay an Embargo, either general or special. There was little hope such a measure would have passed the House, but its friends entertained no doubt of its success in the Senate; but to our astonishment the Bill was lost on the final question by an equivote. Several gentlemen, who did not take the trouble, previously, to explain themselves, afterwards declared that they voted against the Bill, because they thought it would place the President in too delicate a situation, *for he having been charged with improper prejudices for the british and against the french; it would be said that he had been influenced by partiality to adopt a measure, which in its effects would benefit the former and injure the latter.*

The circumstance of a new administration would of itself in some degree tend to check the virulence of faction. This will be the more encreased by the attempt which is manifestly made to seduce the President, by impressing him with a belief that he has been deserted by his friends. This attempt, I trust, will be ineffectual. At all events, while they are making their efforts, they will suspend all personal attacks.

In the newly elected house of Reps. we flatter ourselves that there is a majority of good men—friends of national liberty, of their country and of its government. It is, however, if at all a majority, a small one. If our expectations are not disappointed, the next session will be a very important and I hope a productive one; much remains, respecting our internal police, to be done, to give to the government the best chance of success. I have been long convinced that even on the principles of our federal Union, much more might be done than has even yet been attempted. This will possibly induce me once more to sacrifice my quiet and happiness by attending another session of Congress.

There is much distress, in this state, among the adventurers in the Georgia Speculation. A committee of Senate have made an elaborate report, which had not been printed when I left Philadelphia, which is well founded, and, whether it be so or not I am ignorant, will show that Georgia is restricted within much narrower limits than I had supposed.

The inauguration of the President was a scene the most august and sublime I ever beheld. Mr. Adams behaved with

dignity. The company was numerous, respectable, and behaved with that decent gravity which the solemn occasion demanded; but the circumstance the most interesting was the presence of the late President. He came unattended and on foot, with the modest appearance of a private citizen. No sooner was his person seen, than a burst of applause such as I had never before known, and which it would be as impossible for me to describe, as my own sensations produced by it, saluted the venerable Hero and Patriot, while the animation of countenance which accompanied it gave the most pleasing, as well as the most convincing evidence, that all the lies which malice has invented, have been ineffectual to injure the character of this great and good man. . . . I am, dear Sir, most sincerely & affectionately

Your friend,

THEODORE SEDGWICK.

R. KING TO R. SOUTHGATE, ESQ.

LONDON, March 17, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

I am reluctant in saying anything more respecting Emery's claim,\* having so often troubled you with the expressions of my concern upon that subject, but having heard that Emery has been recently baffled in an attempt to procure a legal decision in his case; I feel that I do him an injustice in suffering the circumstance of my absence to deprive him of the exercise of a perfect Right that he has to demand a judicial Examination of his Claim. I have therefore authorized Cyrus [R. K.'s brother and secretary] who is returning home to consent to a suit against me, in case you

\* In a letter dated Jany. 14, 1794, S. Emery had written to R. K. :

"I have endeavoured to settle the matter respecting the farm at Scarborough which you sold my father with Dr. Southgate till I am quite tired out; he will not settle upon any principle which I think just . . . therefore I am obliged to write to you or take what he pleases to give. . . ."

Enclosing this letter to Dr. Southgate, R. King writes, Jany. 27, 1794 :

" . . . I had hoped that by some arrangement convenient to all branches of the family, the Heirs of Mr. Emery had been satisfied. It will remain with you to do what is proper on this Subject. I have written to Mr. Emery in my answer to his letter that the claim will not be denied and that you will do all that justice which I sincerely desire should be afforded. . . ."

and Emery continue to be unable to agree in an amicable Settlement. I have a great Repugnance to legal controversy, and should therefore be gratified in being exempt in this instance from disputing with a man who I think has just grounds of complaint against me. The Difference between his demand and what you would be willing to pay I understand to be small and unimportant ; and I had much rather pay it myself than be drawn into a lawsuit, in which I must in the End be in the wrong.

We are so far apart and both at a period of life at which we are liable to occurrences that may prevent our reunion, that I feel the force of that uncertainty, which darkens the prospect of our meeting. I hope for the Pleasure of the Event, and flatter myself that it will not long be postponed. Where I now am I am not quite my own master, but it is not my intention to remain long in England ; and it will be one of the earliest pleasures of my return home to visit and embrace those branches of my family from whom I have been so long separated. I hope you enjoy health & Happiness. These Blessings I likewise wish to my beloved Sister. God bless you, her and yours.

Forever and affectionately yrs

RUFUS KING.

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G. CABOT TO R. KING, LONDON.

BROOKLINE, March 19, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

I hope your conjectures respecting Mr. Pitt's supplies will not prove as well founded as your political opinions usually are, for I have never yet thought a peace practicable, & with Burke, I think any peace wou'd be unsafe while the power of *Societicide* or rather *Staticide* remains unbroken. That the welfare of the United States will become precarious, if G. B. yields, most of our thinking people perceive pretty plainly. The feelings of our merchants are greatly irritated & their fears not a little excited by the depredations committing by the French. But what is to be done? The great extension of our maritime commerce has rendered us extremely vulnerable while our aggressor has nothing upon the sea thro' which a blow could be returned.

By the pieces, entitled "the Warning," which from their ex-

cellence I attribute to Hamilton, you may see our affairs with France are converging to a critical point. How we shall behave at last you can foresee as well as I ; for living out of the world as I do, and having no other communication with it than the visits of a dozen friends, which are not frequent, my knowledge of what passes is chiefly derived from the Newspapers. Our public servants however will ordain the course to be pursued and I hope they will do right, and be fully encouraged by us their masters.

Some pains have been taken, and I think with considerable success in this quarter to explain the nature of our controversy with France. I fully agree to the superior estimate you make of the present enjoyments and future hopes of our country, as compared with others, but I can't avoid suspecting you of a little too much despondency on another topic. Perhaps we *always* over-rate absent blessings, and generally, *present* difficulties.

You will be glad that Adams is elected, and that the prospect of our Government continuing steady is good. For a while things will go well and we must do everything in our power to give permanency to every good disposition. I am nevertheless mortified to see Jefferson Vice-President after so much exertion among the agents of a foreign nation to secure his election, and I cannot discard my fears that he will have an influence that may be unpropitious. It occurs to my mind frequently that the hostile conduct of France towards this Country, *may* suggest to the British Government new schemes of policy that might extremely embarrass us ; but it wou'd be the most short-sighted project that folly ever adopted if their conduct should become *unconciliatory* now that we are breaking off that dependent connexion with their enemies, which they ought always to discourage, but which their disdainful spirit had contributed to produce. I reflect with infinite satisfaction that you are placed in a situation to demonstrate the ill tendencies of these crooked politics, which erroneous views of this country cou'd alone have recommended.

What do Sweden & Denmark say to the outrages of the French ! They must be uneasy under such treatment as we receive ; but at what point will they begin to repel ? Presuming that Pinckney will not be received, I expect an official notice of this will be followed by a summons of Congress, & if it shou'd, I hope they will have spirit enough to declare all Treaties between the 2

nations annulled by the gross and avowed violations of our rights under them. But all these affairs are with the constituted authorities & while I rejoice that I am not among them, I am happy that many better heads are devoted to those services, which our country needs & deserves. . . .

Yrs. faithfully

G. CABOT.

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R. KING TO SIR JOHN SINCLAIR.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Ap. 1, 1797.

SIR :

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 29th ulto. informing me, in very obliging terms, that the Board of Agriculture had been pleased to admit me, as a "Foreign honorary member" of that Society. I request the favor of you, Sir, to present to the Board my respectful acknowledgments of the honor conferred upon me by this admission. I ought at the same time, Sir, to observe to you, that my very moderate acquaintance with agricultural subjects, forbids me to hope that it will be in my power to afford the society any valuable information in the prosecution of their patriotic and important researches.

With great consideration and esteem, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.\*

LONDON, April 2, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

As Mr. Church is the bearer, I refer you to him for what it would take many pages to relate, and will only say, that, notwithstanding the injuries we continue to receive from France, I still hope the same policy that has hitherto kept us out of the war, will continue to influence and decide our government.

How the new President will conduct himself in a situation thorny and embarrassing, remains to be seen ; the first step is very important, and therefore should be deeply and extensively considered.

\* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 227.

Everything looks like an active and, to a certain degree, a vigorous campaign ; yet, with all these appearances of the continuance of the war peace may be near. But what will be the consequence of such a peace as alone can be had at this time ?

A late arrêt of the Directory gives notice to all French citizens that the Treaty of February 1778, between France and the United States of America, has been (of full right) in virtue of the second article thereof, so modified as to conform to the stipulations contained in the treaty of 1794 between the United States and Great Britain. The arrêt proceeds to specify the modification.

This says Mr. King, demanding in its fourth article that our ships should have

a rôle d'équipage en bonne forme, such as is required by the form annexed to the treaty of the 6th of February 1778 . . . will render *all our ships* liable to capture, and, if acted upon, to condemnation, since no American vessel has on board the document required. . . . Mr. Church will show you a copy of the commercial Treaty with France, printed in London in 1783, which has the form of a passport rôle d'équipage, &c., annexed . . by which you will see that none of our vessels are exempt from capture ; if this copy is that referred to in the late arrêt. Indeed it seems too absurd in some things to be genuine, yet I suspect it is the model or form referred to and required by the fourth article of the arrêt.

Farewell yours,

RUFUS KING.

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T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, April 6, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I have written to Vermont for information about the arms and cannon captured on the Olive Branch, with Governor Ira Allen, and carried into England. Whatever answer I obtain shall be communicated to you. In the meantime there appears to me to be little room to doubt of their real destination such as you mention to be suggested in London. It is incredible that

Governor Allen should undertake to purchase 20.000 muskets and 24 brass cannon with their appendages for the *militia of Vermont* at the *request* of Governor Chittenden. Nothing but an *Act of the Legislature* would warrant the measure or provide the funds—  
is well known that Allen was destitute of property. . . .

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T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, 12 April, 1797.

. . . The French continue their depredations on our commerce in the West Indies; and by the accounts almost daily published in the newspapers, frequently commit the most flagrant piracies and robberies, even in their own ports: so that the insurers at Baltimore (as I am this day informed by a letter from thence) have ceased to underwrite upon American vessels bound to *French* ports; while they insure at war premiums those bound to *English* West India ports.

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WM. SMITH TO R. KING, LONDON.

PHILAD., April 3, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Capt. O'Brien arriv'd day before yesterday & brought as the acct. of Sir J. Jervis' victory over the Spaniards, which has assisted in raising our depressed spirits. It is a melancholy and a humiliating consideration that we are compelled to derive consolation from the successes of other nations. Under present circumstances we must rejoice at the victories of G. Britain, tho' we may fear they may hereafter be turned to our disadvantage. The haughty conduct of France, which increases with her tide of prosperity, makes us rejoice at the defeat of herself or her allies; we look for safety in her depression, for we cannot expect to find either from her justice & our wisdom. Her late outrages have however kindled a good spirit, but it is uncertain how long it will be kept alive, and there is reason to fear that the same capricious disposition, which so quickly changes from love to resentment will from trifling causes change back again.

The active and incessant manœuvres of french agents in this Country, make me apprehend that any inconsiderable change in the measures of France favorable to us will drive the great mass of knaves & fools back into her arms. What indeed have we not to apprehend from the multitude which for four years has, with so little reason, avowed such a devoted attachment to that insidious nation? If the present temper can be steadfastly maintained, the losses from their spoliations will scarcely be regretted; they will be well compensated by our deliverance from gallic thralldom.

The eyes of a great many are now opened to the real views of France, and the public mind is thereby become more open to receive impressions favorable to England; nothing will be so conducive to the complete establishment of our independence, as a conduct on the part of G. Britain at this crisis, marked with sincere good will to this country. This will do away with those antipathies which are still lurking in a great many breasts and produce a general disposition to view that nation as connected with us by the strongest ties of mutual interest. It has been so much a fashion of late years to call parties here by foreign names, that many conceive we cannot be alienated from the French without throwing ourselves *à corps perdu* into the arms of the English; and unfortunately many of the *ci-devant* English merchants here, yielding without due reflection to an habitual impulse, encourage this degrading idea; it is important that it should be banished from our sight and that we should forcibly inculcate the sentiment, that if we are alienated from the French, it is because we cherish our independence and have determined to form no connexions but those which unite independent nations for their common interest.

It is a fortunate thing for us that the Representatives of the respective nations are at this present juncture so peculiarly gifted with those rare and valuable qualities, which at the same time remove every distrust and strengthen a growing friendship. Mr. & Mrs. Liston are much liked, so much so as to be, in the eyes of the Jacobins, *dangerous* people. I am much pleased with the promises of Abercromby & Simcoe; the british Govt. may, with little trouble & no expence, do many things which would produce the most happy effects here. There never was so favorable an opportunity; but they must understand the footing on which our

connexions are to rest—the most complete independence on our part.

I was about to return to Charleston, when the late disagreeable intelligence from Gen. Pinckney compelled the Executive to convene Congress on the 15th May. I must therefore stay here. The successes of Buonaparte will probably give the Directory a still more haughty tone, unless their internal affairs sho'd produce something favorable for us. Congress are to meet this day six weeks—something may occur of an important nature before that period. The operations of the French cabinet have been so fluctuating & their danger relative to foreign and neutral powers so sudden & violent, that I am not without hopes that when they find their prospects blasted of overthrowing our Government & cancelling the British Treaty, they will suddenly wheel about and generously forgive us. There is only this yet wanting to complete their character for generosity & magnanimity, so much din'd in our ears by their adherents.

We shall pass a new Law next Session relative to Seamen ; your suggestion on that subject will be carefully attended to. Major Lenox, the successor of Trumbull, sails for London in a few weeks. The Commrs. for the 6th Article are arrived here. I have not yet seen them.

Our Treaty with Sweden expires in about fifteen months ; the Executive have it in contemplation to propose a revival of it. Have you turned your attention much to this subject ? What think you of a commercial connexion with Denmark ? Those two powers have a common interest with us, whenever the great maritime nations are at war ; it seems therefore strange that we sho'd have a Minister Plenipotenty. in Portugal with whom we have no Treaty and little commercial intercourse, and no relations with Denmark & Sweden, whose interests in time of war are so homogeneous with ours and with whom we might have extensive commercial intercourse. . . .

The accounts from the Mediterranean are highly pleasing. The Treaties with the Barbary powers have cost us a great deal of money and vexation. I trust they will realize the benefits you justly anticipated. This new source of commerce will indemnify us for the abridgement of our Commerce in the W. Indies.

The change of the Executive here has been wrought with a

facility and a calm which has astonished even those of us who always augured well of the governt. and the general good sense of our citizens. The machine has worked without a creak. On the 4th of March John Adams was quietly sworn into office, George Washington attending as a private citizen. A few days after he went quietly home to Mt. Vernon; his successor as quietly took his place, and in the same house last Tuesday I saw him well dressed, in a full suit, sword, bag &c. at his first levée, which was a very crowded one. The Jacobins are flattering him and trying to cajole him to admit the V. P. into the Council. Jefferson lodged at Francis' hotel (with Adams) while here, attended the Philosophical Society of which he is President, made a dissertation about a Lion's claw, and soon after returned to Monticello.

Our friend Murray sails for Amsterdam shortly; he will do credit to the appointment. I shall intrust to his care a copy of my little work on the Constitution for you, which I have had interleaved to receive those judicious remarks which will I am sure occur to you on perusing it. When this is done, I shall request you to return it to me, in exchange for a copy of a new edition on a more enlarged & useful plan.

Farewell, yours very affectly.

WM. SMITH.

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A. HAMILTON TO R. KING, LONDON.

April 8, 1797.

I thank you, my Dear Sir, for your letter of the 6th of February. The Intelligence that the Directory have ordered away our Minister is every way unpleasant. It portends too much a final Rupture as the only alternative to an ignominious submission. Much public feeling has been excited. But the Government, I trust & believe, will continue prudent, and do everything that honor permits towards accommodation. 'Tis however to be feared that France successful will be too violent and imperious to meet on any admissible ground.

Congress are called together. I can give you no conjecture as to what will be done. Opinions are afloat. My idea is another attempt to pacify by negotiation, vigorous preparations for war

and *defensive* measures with regard to our Trade. But there never was a period of our affairs in which I could less foresee the course of things.

I believe there is no danger of want of firmness in the Executive. If he is not ill-advised, he will not want prudence. I mean that I believe that he is himself disposed to a *prudently firm* course.

You know the Mass of our Senate. That of our House of Representatives is not ascertained. A small majority on the right side is counted on. In Virginia it is understood that *Morgan* comes in place of Rutherford, & Evans in place of Page. The whole result of the Virginia election is not known.

The conduct of France has been a very powerful medicine for the political diseases of the country. I think the community improves in soundness.

Adieu, God bless you

A. HAMILTON.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Opposition to France growing more popular—Reliance on the Firmness and Prudence of the President—England's commercial Policy should be a conciliatory one—Jacobi on Negotiations between France and Prussia—R. King to Secretary of State—French Captures—English Politics—The Nation tired of the War—Austria her only Ally—Question of Peace—France refuses to acknowledge Passports granted by American Ministers—French Depredations in the West Indies—R. King writes to the Secretary on Carelessness in getting Testimony in Cases of Capture by Mr. Bayard—Secretary of State relative to Convoys.

G. CABOT TO R. KING, LONDON.

BROOKLINE, April 10, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

I see by the style of your Letter of the 25th of Jany that you are more happy and if you had not told me expressly that you had surmounted your difficulties, I shou'd have inferr'd it. Our Campaign here is soon to open, & I think may prove a more important one than any we have seen. Both parties are active in endeavouring to preoccupy the popular mind, and if a judgment were now to be formed, it wou'd be that the friends of order and good government will be successful. The aim is to rouse the country as much as possible *without inflaming it*, & by exciting a due attention to the public danger it is expected that *we the people* shall be reconciled to some new burthens which may become necessary, & shall be disposed to strengthen the Govt. by a ready support of the measures it shall adopt. The President, I am assured, will not yield to the insolent dictates of France ; but on the contrary will propose to Congress measures which will satisfy the men who elected him. If the House of Representatives shou'd be well composed, the national dignity will be supported at any rate (& probably peace maintained) ; but if a majority

there shou'd be wrong, disgrace may be expected. The weakest men generally follow the popular sentiment, & I am persuaded that opposition to the tyranny of France is every day growing more popular. To me it wou'd seem a wise policy in G. B. to seize upon this moment for breaking off our French attachments. A steady course of liberal treatment wou'd render this Country an inestimable customer to G. B. for a long time. We shou'd continue to buy of them what a quarrel or even coldness may oblige us to make for ourselves. I have been for many years convinced that the true interest of Great Britain required a relaxation towards us of the vigorous commercial system she ordinarily maintains. We are not, and probably never shall be her Rival in Naval power. The extensive territory we possess forms an interest that *must* countervail it for many years, & it is hardly to be doubted that *before many years* shall elapse, we shall divide or be divided. A constant & adequate market for their manufactures is infinitely important to the support & prosperity of *England proper*, & to enable the parent stock to circulate without impoverishment or redundancy of the nutriments of the immense cyons engrafted in the 2 Indies. But quitting a figure almost unintelligible, is it not clear that the prosperity of England depends more than ever upon her power at Sea? Her wisest provisions for the support of this power are calculated to keep at all times the greatest possible number of Seamen employ'd: the intention is proper but it is not well fulfilled. It is in navigation as in other branches of industry; they who work cheapest will have most employment. The English laws which recognize no Ship as British except such as are built within the British dominions, prevent Englishmen from freighting in many countries where they might, if allowed to use the cheap Ships they cou'd build in the U. S. To whatever extent this is true, England *sacrifices her greater interest* in sailors, to a *minor interest* in shipwrights. Besides every facility of payment which England gives to the U. S. must tend to increase our consumption of her goods; and if the facility costs her nothing, she certainly derives a clear profit on the increased consumption. Many other considerations occur to me which ought to produce in G. B. the most conciliatory policy, but these, as well as those suggested, are all familiar to you. The condition of the British nation is certainly critical & requires to be propp'd up by every

auxiliary they can obtain. A commercial intercourse with us establish'd on the most liberal principles wou'd be a firm & lasting support to them & might be highly useful to us. . . .

Your faithful friend,

G. CABOT.

There is an interesting paper in the handwriting of Mr. King containing a statement of the negotiations between France and Prussia, made by Jacobi, the Prussian Ambassador in London, which is here given :

“ April 16, '97.

“ Jacobi told me that the King of Prussia had been applied to by France to aid in restoring peace with Austria ; that he had declined all interference unless in favor of a general peace and the integrity of the German Empire. Thus, said Jacobi, it is evident that the Rumours of a Design in the King to break in upon the Rights of the Empire are disproved ; and it is equally plain that the account of his having guaranteed Belgium is unfounded. The French offered to give him Hanover long ago, wh. he refused. If Bavaria sh. be attempted to be annexed to Austria, the King of Prussia wd. object, nay he wd. be obliged to take a portion equivalent of some part of Germany contiguous to his Dominions. I have consd. Jacobi notified to this Court the refusal of the King to assist in a separate peace, France wants peace—she will not insist on the Rhine as a boundary, but she will adhere to the union of Belgium. England will not agree to this sacrifice to obtain peace. The Emperor will therefore refuse to make any peace—he will even quit Vienna and retire to Hungary, where he will make still great exertions to expel the French from his Dominions.”

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R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

LONDON, April 19, 1797.

MY LORD :

Having learnt that a Packet soon sails for the West Indies, I take the Liberty to send to your Lordship copies of a letter and its inclosures that I have lately received from Mr. Talbot, who is the Agent appointed by the President of the United States for the

Relief and Protection of American Seamen in the West Indies. It gave me much pleasure when I had last the honor of meeting your Lordship to express to you the satisfaction with which the President had been informed, that Mr. Talbot had been received and treated in a friendly manner by his Majesty's Naval officers in the West Indies; and that there was a fair prospect that his agency would prove successful in relieving such of our Seamen as had been impressed and were detained on board his Majesty's ships in those seas. I have great regret in perceiving by Mr. Talbot's report, that there is an appearance of a Temper, somewhat different from our just expectations on this subject, on the part of the Commander in Chief, Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, and (it) is my Duty to request your Lordship's interference to obtain an order from the proper Department of his Majesty's Government for the Discharge of the American Citizens named in the list remitted by Mr. Talbot, and also instructions to the Commanders of his Majesty's ships of war in the West Indies to discharge all other American citizens, that have been impressed and are detained on board any of the said Ships.

With high consideration &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, April 19, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

You will naturally suppose that I must be anxious to be informed what measures the President shall adopt to arrest the depredations that France is committing upon our commerce. The Arrêt of the 2nd of March, if executed, will subject all our Ships to capture and condemnation, since none of them are furnished with such papers as the 6th Article thereof requires.

Hitherto the captures in Europe have not been numerous, though several of our valuable ships have been carried into France, and in a few instance the Masters and other Officers of our vessels have been treated in a barbarous and cruel manner by the French Cruizers, who have put them to the torture to compel them to make such Declarations relative to the property and destination of their ships and Cargoes as were desired. I send you the protest of William Martin, Master of the *Cincinnati* of Balti-

more, who lately arrived here, after having fallen into the hands of a French Cruizer, which obliged him to leave his own vessel and to go on board the Cruizer, when he was tortured for more than three hours. Captain Martin's thumbs, which I examined, bear the marks of the screws, and the scars will go with him to his grave.

It is impossible that these barbarous outrages should be authorized ; indeed the concealment observed by the Perpetrators of them, who refused to tell their names, or the Port of their Equipment, evince that they are not so. A general Peace, if concluded on a basis of reciprocal Justice may secure to us an exemption from the System of Plunder and Barbarity into which Europe seems in danger of relapsing.

The elections in France, so far as Results are known, have been favorable to the friends of moderation ; but Victory & Conquest are advantageous to their opponents, and will elate both. The Emperor of Russia avoids, even in a greater Degree than his Mother did, taking any share in the war. Prussia adheres to the maxims that have long influenced her, and will *make no efforts except to augment her own Territories or to weaken those of* \* her neighbours. Some recent successes *confirm the past character of this Court and increase our Detestation* of its principles. Germany is disjointed, dispersed and in some degree revolutionized ; it cannot therefore be depended on at a time, when union, courage and zeal could alone be of any advantage. *England must soon have no option ; her wealth and her Navy have been her glory and her safeguard. The former is found to have limits ; the latter by an extensive and successful mutiny of her Seamen has recently received a wound of the most dangerous consequence. The Nation is weary of the War and there is a general despair of any advantages from the prosecution of it.* The Ministry have been supported for the last twelve months by the opinion *which they assiduously propagated that the continuance of the war was against their wishes and owing to the disinclination of the French to make Peace.*

The public discontents *increase daily* and there is reason to believe, *notwithstanding the strong personal desire of the King to go on with the war,* that nothing but the dread of the consequences *to his authority from Mr. Fox's coming into office, prevents a change*

\* Italics in cipher.

*of Ministers. If an administration could be made without Mr. Fox it is supposed that an immediate change would take place.* There is however a circumstance of considerable weight that is favorable to the continuance of the present Ministry. *A change of Ministers, it is apprehended, would require a change of the House of Commons.* The present is the first session of a new Parliament, *and the seats are too expensive to be soon given up. Hence the friends of the Ministers, though they wish for Peace and would recommend a surrender of all the National Conquests to obtain it desire that it should be made by men whom they have supported and not by those whom they have opposed.* In this situation of the Allies, the burthen of continuing the War falls upon Austria. The Emperor, it is true, whatever we may think of his wisdom by his firmness and constancy excites our admiration. The nobles of Vienna since the late Defeat of the Arch Duke have surrounded the Throne with Petitions for an immediate Peace, as the only means of saving the Capitol, or preserving the Monarchy. To this advice, notwithstanding past Disasters, and the tide of success on which Bonaparte advances, the Emperor has answered that he could not consent to make Peace, without his allies, that Vienna was not the Monarchy, that the Monarchy would survive, beloved and defended by his loyal subjects, when even Vienna should have surrendered to the enemy. Though this courageous firmness in the Chief of a warlike nation, if accompanied with more propitious Circumstances, would perform Prodigies and might save a sinking State, yet in this instance the affairs of Austria are so deranged, her armies so reduced and dispirited, her subjects so depressed by the Burthens and misfortunes of the war, and the conflict so apparently hopeless, that it is even doubted whether the Emperor will be able to hold out till the person who has been sent from this Country to Vienna, to join in the negotiations, shall arrive there.

Should he conclude a separate Peace, & whether separate or joint its terms will be much the same, it must be one in which France dictates the conditions, and consequently too unequal and humiliating to be lasting. This view of the Situation of the war recommends to us in a forcible manner the Policy of continuing, if possible, in peace. We have been wronged and greatly so, but it is only by negotiation and by persevering in the moderate but

manly representations of the injustice that has been done to us that we shall be likely to obtain satisfaction. There certainly is nothing heroic, nothing that excites admiration in this *march* ; on the other hand I hope there is nothing really humiliating in it ; since it is one that promises to obtain for us, with more certainty than any other, that satisfaction for the past and security for the future which in a different way the greatest and most powerful Nations in Europe have attempted but utterly failed to obtain.

With great respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

P. S. The public Papers announce an arrêt of the Executive Directory of the 10th instant which directs that the Passports granted by the Ministers and Diplomatic Envoys of the United States of America, and Passports certified by them, shall not be admitted nor acknowledged by any authority ; the arrêt is ordered to be printed and the Minister of *Police* is charged with the execution of it.

I am at a loss to conjecture the motives to this Regulation. You know that in time of war, it is by Passports only that the Merchants are enabled to pass from one country to another in the transaction of their business. This arrêt will be embarrassing to such of our countrymen as, being in Europe, might be desirous of following and claiming their Property captured and carried into France.

I shall recommend to those of them who are going to France from this Country to take a Certificate of Citizenship from our Consuls here ; having sometime since understood that Mr. Skipwith, our Consul at Paris, was permitted to grant Certificates of this nature. But whether this precaution will answer, or whether we shall avoid still greater mischief than hitherto I have apprehended, I confess myself at a loss to determine.

I have this moment received a letter from Mr. Pitcairn, dated Paris April 8, 1797 : he begins by saying that " Mr. de Clerck fils, the Chief of the *Comptability* of the National Treasury, informed me yesterday that two days before the Directory had laid an *opposition* to prevent any payment being made to the American Government or any of the people, founded on the law of Reprisals." Mr. Pitcairn makes a query whether Private Debts could be confiscated. . . .

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

" DEPARTMENT OF STATE, April 26, 1797.

" DEAR SIR :

" . . . To-day I received your letter of March 5th, and notice the immediate causes and effects of the stoppage of cash payments from the Bank of England. I should presume on the spirit and patriotism of British subjects, to make sacrifices proportioned to the present extraordinary emergencies. It is an obvious remark that if you contend with a nation which uses new weapons or new manœuvres, to which your own are unequal or inapplicable—to fight on a par, you must change your own and adopt corresponding means of attack and defence. What would France have effected in the present war, had she relied on the ordinary means of France when a Monarchy? With even a small portion of the immense sacrifices of that nation under her Revolutionary governments, Britain might yet maintain the conflict. Her bitter resentments and national antipathy and revenge towards a people whom she has long called her natural enemy, joined to her national pride, it might be imagined would furnish the extraordinary means which the unexampled state of things demand.

"The depredations of the French in the West Indies continue. Mr. Adet, a few days since expressed to me his opinion that they are not authorized by the French Government ; remarking that it is impossible to restrain Privateers from irregularities. But it happens, unfortunately, that nearly all the vessels or Cargoes, or both, which are carried in by their Privateers are condemned by their civil officers on shore. Besides when he mentions unauthorized captures, he cannot refer to the multitude which we complain of as made in direct violation of our Treaty with France, or of the law of nations, but which he himself declared would be made pursuant to the Decree of the Directory on the 2nd of July last."

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R. KING, LONDON, TO T. PICKERING.

*Personal and Private.*

Ap. 29, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I submit to you whether it would not be advantageous, if you shd. send me 10 or 12 Copies of the State Papers from your

office which are from time to time published : a distribution of them among the foreign Ministers here & others, would in my opinion contribute much to the extension of correct opinions concerning our Policy and national Characters. Your late letter to Genl. Pinckney has been very serviceable in this light ; it has been well received by every one, and obtained, as it deserved, the approbation and praise of sensible and impartial men.

Mess. Gore and Pinckney will write to you on a subject on which I have had, and still suffer, much anxiety—unless a more systematic attention is given to the procuring of the seasonable and requisite Evidence in cases of Capture, I see little prospect in obtaining the reasonable satisfaction for our Losses, which with proper diligence & skill in the Agency, and with the present views of this Government, we might rationally expect to receive. It is unpleasant to say so, but it is my opinion, that we shall ultimately meet with serious Losses, and give occasion to complaints among our people, unless we can induce Mr. Bayard to examine each case (instead of turning them over without examination to a Proctor) and wherever there is a defect of proof, to point it out and take immediate measures to supply it. If Mr. Bayard is unable or unwilling to take this trouble, which ought to have been taken a year ago, we shall endeavour to fall upon some plan of having the business done by some other person.

I hope soon to hear from you respecting the manner of keeping and paying to the Claimants the Monies awarded to be paid by this Government. I am persuaded that a precise regulation must be given on this subject ; and I am likewise in hopes to receive your Opinion concerning the Commission which may be claimed to be deducted by Mr. Bayard (for his own emolument) from such sums as he shall pay over to the Claimants. I can't say that Mr. Bayard will make this claim unless he has the consent of the claimant, but I have reason to suppose that it has not been a difficult matter to obtain their consent ; various motives may have induced Merchants and others in America to agree to such proposal. I have before observed to you that I wholly disapprove of it.

With great Respect & Truth

I am, Dr. Sir, yours &c.

RUFUS KING.

## T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, May 9, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

On the 6th, in the evening, I received your letter of the 12th of March. . . . The State of affairs relative to French Captures of American Vessels, at the date of your Letter no doubt rendered your disapprobation of the project of a Convoy very proper. I mean for vessels of the United States sailing from the ports of Great Britain ; but the piratical conduct of their privateers in the American seas, and even on the coast of Spain, must render any measures of *protection* and *defence* both eligible and lawful. If therefore the British Government, on the request of the Merchants trading to America, or of the underwriters, or on their own Motion, order convoys for the American vessels under a change of circumstances which show that our commerce is in more danger than when you expressed your disapprobation of the measure, the convoys are certainly not to be refused.

After illustrating the question by some suggestions Mr. P. says : " What *legal* consequences can result from accepting a convoy in any case, except that of its being a cause of condemnation in cases of capture, altho' the vessel should really be neutral? It would then seem to be a matter of calculation, whether to accept or decline a convoy." He then presents some decisions by English authorities on the subject of the causes of forfeiture of a vessel under convoy, and says : " But here the cause of forfeiture is not the simple act of going under convoy ; but the attempting in a *neutral* vessel to shelter the goods of an *enemy* by means of a convoy ; and therefore, if this distinction be correct an American Vessel, with an American Cargo, may innocently go under Convoy. Because a belligerent power, without regarding Treaties or the Law of Nations makes prize of such Property. If however such unwarrantable captures are not made (and this I suppose you judged to be the fact in respect to our vessels trading with Great Britain and Ireland) there can be no reason for seeking convoys, and the doing it might give offence to the Government against which it was requested. But whenever that Government has no scruple to interrupt and injure our lawful commerce, by means of her armed vessels, we can have no scruple

to accept protection from the Convoys of her Enemies. *The question will be whether the Government shall personally request convoys. This is a question of some delicacy, as it regards the foreign power to whom the request shall be made, on the score of obligation. But if, for the sake of preserving lucrative or necessary trade, that power voluntarily offers, or on the request of individuals, grants the requisite Convoys, are we to refuse them? Certainly not, and such is the sense of the President.\**

With perfect esteem, &c.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

\* Italics in cipher.

## CHAPTER XIV.

French Designs as affecting the U. S.—Public Temper in the U. S. improving in reference to these—Causes of the Mutiny in the British Fleets—Paid Agents of the U. S. cannot demand extra Compensation from Awards to Claimants—General Allen's Claim for the Restoration of Arms captured and detained in England—Kosciuszko thanks Mr. King for assisting him in obtaining a Passage to America.

G. CABOT TO R. KING, LONDON.

BROOKLINE, May 9, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

It is abundantly evident that the designs of France as disclosed to me by Mr. Liancourt \* last summer were real, and if they do not already exceed them fully, it is only because their successes have fallen short of their calculation. I fear it will prove unfortunate for our country that their successes have been lately so great. The fall of Mantua and the appearance of pecuniary embarrassment in England have revived the spirit of Jacobinism, which had been declining very fast. Still however it may be relied on, that public opinion in relation to foreign politics & the affairs of France particularly, is infinitely more correct than it has ever been since the Devil was let loose. You will feel, as we all do, great anxiety for the measures which Congress shall adopt : our friends have hope, & even expect that things will all go well, but you know I always expect the contrary, and if the power of faction is not sufficient to direct the movements of Government, I am persuaded they will *obstruct them*. Their schemes have so far developed themselves as to convince us that they will favor every kind of concession to France, and will endeavor to charge all our troubles, and even the disgraceful submission they would make

\* See letter of Sept. 24, 1796.

to France, to the British Treaty. Our best security against them, is that their projects are well understood by the Executive & will be resisted there. My own opinion is to avoid giving provocation to the pride of France and to hold ourselves ready to conciliate on any terms not *dishonorable* ; but as they are encouraged to insult and injure us by a contempt of our power, I wou'd make a show of the Spirit and resolution of the country, that shou'd compel them to expect resistance, if they advance. . . . After all I think our tranquillity essentially depends upon events on your side the water & the fate of England especially. If Englishmen do not forfeit the just character of their ancestors, they will perish sooner than submit to France, & altho' it must be confessed they have immense difficulties to struggle with at home, yet if they feel the same inveteracy toward their rival, which this feels toward them, they will certainly conquer at last. England has the means to defend herself on the sea against the whole of Europe and I shou'd imagine with these means in possession, the nation will always reject the idea of submission under *every vicissitude of its internal affairs*. Our Expectants of Compensation for captur'd property begin to feel impatient at the delay which they can't easily be persuaded is unavoidable.

Your faithful and affect. friend

G. CABOT.

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N. WEBSTER, JR. TO R. KING, LONDON.

NEW YORK, May 30, 1797.

SIR :

I take the liberty to enclose you my opinions on the relative interests of Great Britain & the United States.\* If you agree with me in opinion, you will make what use you please of the Letter. The present moment is important, and tho' I reprobate a connection with any European power, which shall necessarily involve us in their broils, yet it is hardly possible for a commercial nation not to be implicated more or less in the contentions of other powers. Prudence and safety seem to require that we should be on good terms with the greatest naval power in Europe, as I

\* Paper alluded to published in New York, 1802 ; see *Webster's Essays*, dated June 1, 1797.

apprehend, in case of hostility, naval aid will nearly supersede the necessity of any other defense.

In the ideas I have suggested, a few friends to whom I have communicated them, most heartily concur. And as we are probably approaching a rupture with France, we are to calculate upon the event, & be prepared to meet it. If we can escape it, so much the better. I sincerely wish the British Ministry could be convinced of the utility of conciliating the attachment of the Americans & of the extreme folly of irritating them by taking little advantages at sea. This policy had nearly thrown us into the arms of France in 1793. You know with what firmness Govt resisted, and you was among the foremost in the ranks on that occasion. The French interest is yet considerable, but much weakened, since the seizure and confiscation of our vessels in the West Indies. The tide has turned and the current is setting strong agt. the French Govt. The northern States wish peace as much as ever, but the losses of property already sustained, & the insolent conduct of the French Govt. toward ours, has united them in the opinion that war is probable, and they are ready to meet it with firmness.

Never was there a more favorable moment for the British Govt. to remove the prejudice & regain the confidence of our citizens ; & what extreme ill-policy in the Ministry not to embrace it. . . .

With great respect your obedt. Servt.

N. WEBSTER, JR.

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JOHN JAY TO R. KING, LONDON.

NEW YORK, June 3, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . The newspapers contain the Debates and Proceedings in Congress. Public opinion respecting the true policy of this country is gradually becoming more and more correct. Injurious Treatment from foreign nations, whether followed by peace or war, will encrease our Wisdom. It seems Experience must generally be purchased, and sometimes at a high price. . . . I am happy to find that the Comrs. go on well, and that the british Govt. act candidly.

The late session of our Legislature was a temperate and in

several respects an useful one. The Security and Lassitude of the Federalists at the late election was such in this City and some other Places, that the present House of Assembly will be more chequered than the last. . . .

Yours sincerely

JOHN JAY.

A. HAMILTON TO R. KING, LONDON.

June 8, 1797.

I thank you, my Dear Sir, for your two letters lately received from you. . . . I feel very guilty for my negligence—but how can I help it?

The public prints will inform you of the course of public proceedings hitherto. You will perceive that the general plan is analogous to what was done in the case of Great Britain, though there are faults in the detail. Some people cannot learn that the only force which befits a government, is in the *thought* and *action*, not in the *words*, and many reverse this golden rule. I fear we shall do ourselves no honor in the result, and we shall remain at the mercy of events without those efficient preparations which are demanded by so precarious a situation, and which not provoking war, would put us in condition to meet it. All the *consolation* I can give is that the public temper of this country mends dayly & that there is no final danger of our submitting tamely to the yoke of France.

Yrs. affectly.

A. H.

R. KING TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, June 5, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . The Mutiny of the Navy is ascribed to the intrigues of Emissaries employed to mislead and corrupt the Seamen, and a Bill has been brought into Parliament for the Punishment of those who shall be detected. It is possible that the Seamen may have been tampered with, but practices of this sort could not well escape detection, and it is not easy to conceive that this general insubordination should have been produced in this manner.

There are other and more obvious causes to which it may be attributed. The Naval Force of the Enemy has been held in Contempt by the British Fleet. France has had neither Fleets nor Commerce against which the Navy of England could be employed. The men of war have therefore passed most of the time in Port ; discipline has been neglected ; the officers have lived on shore ; and the Ships have been left under the command of young, inexperienced and very subordinate officers ; besides the Times have been feverish and critical, and men of all, including the most subordinate, conditions have heard so much of the Equality and Rights of Man, that the dependencies of Society, instead of being acknowledged and submitted to by habit, have been questions for determination and proof.

This, in my belief, is nearer the true solution than that which is publickly professed.

The Situation of Ireland is still hazardous, and must necessarily be the subject of great inquietude. The Bank of England continues to make their operations solely with Paper, and it seems improbable that they will be able with safety to resume their ancient mode of payment before the return of Peace : an event that the present distresses of England may induce the French Government to postpone in hopes of a more ample gratification of their resentment and hatred against the only Nation which they own as a Rival.

The supposed accession of Moderation in the new third added to the election of Barthelemy, have however decided the British Government to make another effort to terminate the war, and a Message has been Sent to France to ask a Passport for a Minister to be sent from this Country direct to Paris.

With perfect Respect & Esteem

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO N. LOW.

LONDON, June 6th, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . It is not easy in a short letter to give you an adequate idea of the situation of this country. Ireland is in a very disturbed and critical condition, and government is there maintained

alone by military force, although your kinsman, Mr. Wallace, who is at present in London, says things are not so bad in Ireland as they are represented.

The late mutiny in the Channel on Lord Bridport's fleet, after a negotiation carried on between delegates on the part of the seamen with the Lords of the Admiralty, was quieted and the fleet is now at sea. But the ships at Sheerness joined by a portion of Admiral Duncan's fleet from the north seas (which have confined their officers and separated from the fleet) are in a state of Revolt and indeed Rebellion.

Negotiations have been attempted with them but their demands are deemed wholly subversive of the discipline and government of the navy and therefore not to be admitted. The consequence has been that the mutinous ships, consisting of about twenty sail, eleven of which are of the line, have blocked the mouth of the Thames and detain and plunder all vessels which pass. All communication with them is forbidden ; the neighbouring shores are put in a state of defence ; and the alternative seems to be submission or the carrying of the ships to the enemy.

The Bank will not resume their former mode of payments till peace. It is believed that their operations are prudent ; the first embarrassments which followed in stopping specie payments have in a great degree vanished. Specie circulates in small payments, and very large sums have been obtained from abroad and lodged by the Bank in their vaults.

The nation despairs of advantage from a continuation of the war ; they therefore desire peace, direct and new efforts to obtain which have been lately made by this government, who have sent a messenger to France to obtain a passport for a Minister to go to Paris. The moderation that has prevailed in the election of the new third, joined to the election of Barthelemi as a Director, are favorable to the conclusion of peace ; but the very great embarrassment of England has a contrary influence and may induce the Directory to defer an event so much desired in hopes of seeing England, their only rival, reduced still lower.

We who are nearer the war than you are earnestly hope that America will persevere in that course of moderation and prudence which has kept her out of the war. I think the late change in France furnishes an occasion that, if improved, will probably

terminate our disagreements, or at least so far terminate them, as to enable us to maintain peace with the preservation of pub. honor. The dreadful scenes which have been exhibited in Europe, and which are still to be exhibited, should decide us to reject the advice of those who may advise us to war. Farewell—

RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

“DEPARTMENT OF STATE, June 9, 1797.

“DEAR SIR :

“I have recurred to your letter of January 14th, in which you state your ideas relative to the monies which shall be recovered as indemnifications to our citizens for the losses sustained by British captures. They are indisputably just, and the agents of the United States employed and paid by the government in prosecuting and establishing those claims, can form no rightful demands for compensation beyond their fixed salaries; but after deducting the costs of prosecution, which shall have been advanced by the United States, the remainder to be wholly paid to the claimant or his agent.

“If however, the claimants *choose* to appoint either of the public agents (Mr. Bayard or Mr. Cabot) to receive their reimbursements there will be no objection made to it. Many of the sufferers have no connections in London, and such will doubtless prefer the public agents to receive their monies. Mr. Cabot will probably have authority from many of the claimants in New England to receive their dues, and with this view in part they solicited his appointment; and I know that the expectation of this benefit was a principal inducement with him to accept the public agency. Where the claimants have correspondents in England to receive their dues, there can be no pretence for any demand of commissions by either of the agents. Neither ought they to make any such demands when their monies can be safely lodged with some safe bankers, subject to be drawn for by the claimants without any expense. But there will be some risk in this mode of depositing the money, and whose shall it be? Instead of drawing the monies from the British Government, will it not be most eligible to let

them *remain in the Bank of England* to be paid at the times fixed by the commissioners or pursuant to the Decrees of the Courts? For this purpose you will be pleased to make an arrangement with the British Government. . . . With this information of the intentions of the Government, you will consider yourself authorized to take, in forming the proposed arrangement, that full latitude and discretion, which the security of the property of our citizens and their receiving the same with the fewest possible deductions, shall appear to you to require."

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T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

" DEPARTMENT OF STATE, June 15, 1797.

" DEAR SIR :

" . . . The Senators and that Representative (Mr. Lyons) from Vermont (the other Representative was not chosen when the present session commenced) have shown me a Letter from Governor Chittenden, desiring them to seek the aid of the British Minister in favor of General Allen's Claim for the restoration of the arms and cannon he procured from France and which were carried into England. I have handed that Letter to the British Minister, together with a Letter from each of these gentlemen in which they concur in one opinion that those arms and cannon were really destined for Vermont. They say that General Allen was embarrassed in his pecuniary affairs, for relief in which he has pledged real property to a large amount ; to redeem which was the object of his voyage to Europe, by some important speculation, to which his genius was well adapted. Governor Chittenden advised him to speculate in *arms* for the purpose of supplying the militia of Vermont, who by the law of the State were required to furnish themselves, or, if paupers, their respective towns were to supply them ; the penalty for not being furnished was considerable.

" General Allen, being successful in obtaining arms in France, gave notice of it to Governor Chittenden, who formally communicated the information to the Legislature of Vermont, last Fall. In consequence of the expected arrival of these arms, the Legislature suspended the law above mentioned, to give the militia this

opportunity of arming themselves before the penalty should be exacted. Other circumstances relative to the character of General Allen and the nature of this speculation lead me to think that the real objects of it were to arm the militia of Vermont with arms which cost General Allen (or rather for which he made a bargain in form with the French minister of war) twenty five livres, but which he could readily sell to the militia for fifty livres to the number of ten or fifteen thousand in that State, and the residue to the militia of the neighbouring States or to the Government of some of the States ; and thus relieve himself from his incumbrances on his lands, which those Gentlemen assure me are extensive and worth perhaps two hundred thousand dollars, but a great part of which he has already forfeited, and will forfeit much more by means of the detention of the arms in question, unless they should be immediately restored, and his creditors, whose forfeitures are already incurred should from equitable views relinquish their strictly legal rights.

“ The Gentlemen assure me that the most friendly intercourse has taken place and is increasing between the inhabitants of Vermont and those of Canada [for whose benefit it has been suggested these arms were intended.—ED.] and nothing would be more impracticable than to induce the former to aid an insurrection against the British Government in that Province.

“ Upon the whole, it is the real wish of the Executive of the U. States that the arms and military stores in question may be restored to General Allen, to be brought to the U. States, where they are much wanted. By General Allen’s Letter to Capt. Gould, of which you sent me a copy ; the General offered to give caution for the landing of the arms &c, in New York. Upon such security I hope there will be no difficulty in restoring them. . . .

“ We have this day a report by Letters from Boston, that the French Directory have proposed to the Council of 500 to declare war against the U. S. and the Council rejected the proposition. No act of the Directory can any longer excite surprise.”

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“ Le Gl. Kosciuszko a l’honneur de remercier S. E. M. L. Envoyé des Etats Unis de l’Amérique de toutes les peines qu’il a eu la bonté de se donner pour lui procurer un bâtiment faisant

voile pour l'Amérique. Son ami M. Niemcewicz aura l'honneur de faire sa cour à S. E. demain vers le Midi ; il sera l'interprète des sentiments de reconnaissance et de vénération que le Gl. Kosciuszko lui a voués pour la vie.

" Le 3. Juin 1797."

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T. KOSCIUSZKO TO RUFUS KING.

BRISTOL, 16th June, 1797.

SIR :

I feel great satisfaction in answering your last favour, being able to express my warmest thanks to you for the trouble I have given you during my stay in London. Your generous heart has found no limits, and you have continued your kind care at Bristol and America. I am under the greatest obligation to you, and more forcibly not having deserved it. Be convinced of my everlasting gratitude to you and of the honour I shall always feel in signing myself with great Respect and Affection your obedient humble servant.

T. KOSCIUSZKO.

P. S. I have been particularly desired by Mr. Vander-Horst, American Consul, and his amiable Family to accept a Lodging at their house, where I am more tenderly treated than if I had been a Member of their Family. You can not conceive what Cares and friendly attentions are shown to me. It grieves me much that I am not able to shew them a degree of Gratitude equal to my feelings on that Occasion and which would perfectly correspond with their Tenderness to me. Be so kind as to give them Thanks for me.

I shall have the honour of writing to you from *Philadelphia* where I am going with *Captain Lee* on account of his ship being more comfortable for the Passage for a man in my Situation. I will follow your advice and will do every thing as you will order me. Receive once more my most grateful and respectful Thanks.

## CHAPTER XV.

Mr. Pickering's Account of Spanish Duplicity about southern Boundaries—Apprehends France means to regain Louisiana—Arrest of Major McLane and others for alleged treasonable Practices against Canada—Sedgwick on Relations with France—Gerry's Appointment as Commissioner to France—Washington on the Political Situation in U. S.—R. King to Hamilton on French Affairs—Impeachment of Gov. Blount—Mr. Liston's Letter—Bingham's Letter about Stewart's Portrait of Washington to Marquis of Lansdown—And about Gov. Blount—R. King to Wm. Hindman.

### T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

" DEPARTMENT OF STATE, June 20, 1797.

"DEAR SIR :

" . . . The President sincerely desirous of adjusting by negotiation all our differences with France, declared his determination to pursue that course ; but the issue being uncertain strongly recommended preparatory measures of defence. In the Senate these assumed a form ; but the House of Representatives have but partially concurred. The session however continues, and as the aggressions on the part of France are multiplying daily, and Spain by her agents in Louisiana, has discovered an inclination to postpone and apparently to evade the execution of her Treaty with us, at least respecting the Boundary Line, and the withdrawing of her Troops from our Territory—perhaps the preparatory measures may at last be adopted.

"The correspondence between Mr. Ellicott, the American Commissioner and the Spanish Governors, the Baron de Carondelet and Gayoso, on the subject above mentioned, you will find in the Packet which accompanies this letter. The miserable pretexts, evasions and prevarications of Governor Gayoso are astonishing. We should expect from any man claiming any degree of consideration, and especially from an officer of rank, even if deficient in moral principle, that for the sake of *his reputation in the world*, he would have some regard to consistency and truth.

But the Baron de Carondelet is still more eminent in rank ; he is the Governor General of Louisiana, and has, the Spanish Minister here informed me, been appointed lately to the Government of Quito in South America. Yet the Baron has written to the Minister on the subject of the Boundary and the Spanish Ports, and the Minister literally translating it, as he said, read me the Baron's Letter in which he makes some complaints against Mr. Ellicott, frivolous indeed, and one palpably false. He complained that Mr Ellicott had not informed him of his arrival at the Natchez as the Commissioner of the U. States for running the Boundary line ! I showed the chevalier d'Yrujo the Letter of Mr. Ellicott dated the 27th February to the Baron, three days after his arrival at the Natchez, and doubtless by the first conveyance to New Orleans, informing him of his arrival in the character of American Commissioner, and the Baron's answer of the 1st of March, congratulating Mr. Ellicott on his arrival. The Chevalier was confounded, but said he supposed the Baron did not consider Mr. Ellicott's Letter *as official* ! . . .

"The Windsor (Vermont) Paper of June 9th informs that a Major McLane from Rhode Island and his brother and Thomas Butterfield of Vermont, have lately been apprehended at Quebec 'upon something more than a suspicion of treasonable practices against the Government of that province.' That Major McLane had a commission from the French Republic, was under pay, and for about two years had been faithfully employed whispering sedition in the ears of the French Canadians ; and that upon examination this appeared to be a branch of an extensive plan of operations settled in the French Cabinet ; that upon the arrival of a Fleet in the St Lawrence the magazines were to be blown up—the French inhabitants were to rise in a mass and exterminate the English. It is added that several characters in Vermont are implicated in the business, and the whole (says the Editor) 'We learn by undoubted authority.' Probably Mr. Liston may have received official intelligence of this affair. The discovery corresponds with prior facts and circumstances indicating the designs of France to repossess Canada by a force from Europe, an insurrection of the Canadians and aid from numerous adherents in the United States. In the expectations from the letter, I have no doubt France would find herself essentially disappointed.

*Letter?*

Whatever might have been done three years ago when we were suffering under British spoliations and saw threatening appearances of hostility from that power, France can form no reasonable hopes of assistance in the U. S. except from a few corrupt men, a few desperate adventurers, and a few, who apparently would be willing to sacrifice even their own country to their malignant passions. The Vermont Gentlemen in the Senate, who you know are persons of information and stability, assure me that the Inhabitants of their State are perfectly well disposed towards their neighbours in Canada and the British Government there established.

"We are not without apprehensions that France means to regain Louisiana, and to renew the ancient plan of her Monarch, of *circumscribing* and encircling what now constitutes the Atlantic States. To the execution of such a plan, so dangerous to our union and peace, every real American must be firmly opposed."

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T. SEDGWICK TO R. KING.

MY DEAR SIR :

PHILADELPHIA, 24 June, 1797.

. . . The Convention of the Legislature was generally, I believe universally, approved by the friends of government and *declaredly* by all the Jacobins. The former, at the commencement of the session, warmly approved the sentiments expressed in the Prest's speech. War must, if possible, be avoided ; a redress of our injuries must be obtained. For these purposes, a new attempt must be made to negotiate, & to render its success probable, manly preparations must be made. This was the language held by all our friends, and altho' the reasons for such a system of measures have been strengthened and increased by events, which, since that time, have been disclosed, and altho' men of good disposition, are in fact a majority, yet all things dictated by our situation have been left undone.

To account for these apparent contradictions, I am sorry to state a fact, which to my mind is the principal & perhaps the only operative cause, *a dread of the power & vengeance of the terrible Republic*. Some almost explicitly declare it : they talk of our divided councils,—that France elated with victory will be irri-

tated by any attempt to coerce—that resistance in Europe is at an end, and that in the event of peace now certain, she can have no motive to quarrel with us, but on the other hand will hope to participate in our commerce, as the means of reviving her own,—that therefore she will be disposed to conciliate &c. &c. Concomitantly with arguments of this nature, the authors of them dwell on the necessity of avoiding expence, and indeed to justify themselves declare that any incurred at present for defence or protection would be a waste of money. The session is now drawing to a close and we shall separate after having given to the world the most conclusive evidence that the contempt in which France holds our power of resistance, which is her motive for aggression, is a sentiment well founded.

Our friend Gerry is the third of our joint and several ministers to France. No appointment could, in my opinion, have been more injudicious. In justice to the President's council, I ought to tell you, that the nomination was not the result of their approbation, and in justice to myself, I declare that it received my negative. However painful, for reasons which will be obvious to you, it was to withhold my consent, I could not reconcile to myself to approve an appointment so highly improper. Messrs. Read, Marshall, Ross, Tracy & Goodhue also voted against it.

I have frequently seen the british commissioners ; and am much pleased with them, particularly Mr. McDonald. I believe they have a disposition to conduct liberally.

The House of Representatives did not reelect Mr. Beckley as their Clerk. This was resented not only by himself but the whole party, and they were rendered furious by it. To revenge, Beckley has been writing a pamphlet mentioned in the enclosed advertisement. The "authentic papers" there mentioned are those of which you perfectly know the history, formerly in the possession of Messrs. Monroe, Muhlenberg & Venable. This conduct is mean, base and infamous. It may destroy the peace of a respectable family, and so gratify the diabolical malice of a detestable faction, but I trust it cannot produce the intended effect of injuring the cause of government. . . . With much sincerity and esteem

Your affect'e friend

THEODORE SEDGWICK.

G. WASHINGTON TO R. KING, LONDON.

MOUNT VERNON, 25th June, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

I have been honoured with your letter of the 12th of Novr. of the last, and 6th of Feby. & 26th of April of the present year ; and feel myself much obliged by your kind & prompt attention to the publication of the Decree of the High Court of Chancery, of the State of Virginia ; the evidence of which you were pleased to forward in the London Gazette.

As you will have the Political situation of this country transmitted to you from the proper Department, and, no doubt, will be informed of the causes wch. have produced it and which create a continual opposition to the Administration, detailed with more accuracy by such of your friends as are at or near the fountain of intelligence, than I could do, I shall say but little more on the subject of Politics, than that matters are pretty much in the train you left them ; and that it is my firm belief that *no* occurrence or event, of whatsoever kind or nature it may be, will change the sentiments, or (which perhaps would be more correct) the conduct of some characters amongst us.

However much to be regretted this is, by those who think differently, yet, having taken my seat in the Shade of my Vine & Fig tree, I shall endeavour to view things in the "calm lights of mild Philosophy" ; persuaded that if ever a crisis should arise to call forth the good sense & spirit of the People, no deficiency in either will be found.

For the interesting details you have had the goodness to communicate in your several letters, I pray you to accept my thanks. It is reported, and with a confidence which gives it a currency, that the preliminaries of Peace between France & Austria are actually signed. For the sake of humanity, I hope it is true, but it is an accommodation of the differences between the former & Great Britain, that is to produce harmony in this country ; for nothing short of that, while there is a party determined to advocate French measures under *all* circumstances, & to withdraw this country from that tried neutrality, which its policy adopted & the administration has adhered to, can effect this purpose.

Let me ask the favor of you to present me in respectful terms

to Mrs. King, and that you would be assured of the great esteem & regard with which

I am, Dear Sir, your most obedt. Hble. Servt.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.\*

LONDON, June 27th, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

Lord Malmesbury will leave London in three or four days for Lisle, where the conferences between this country and France are to be held. Opinions fluctuate concerning the probability of peace. A struggle evidently exists in France between the Directory and the Legislature ; in the latter of which bodies it is supposed there is a sincere desire of peace.

Some late proceedings in the Legislature, or rather in the Council of Five Hundred, give occasion to hope that our affairs are in train to assume a more friendly appearance.

If, as many assert, the public opinion is friendly to America, it will be employed by the Legislature against the Directory, which at this moment is viewed as a rival power. We have just received the President's speech : it has arrived at a critical hour. You will perceive by newspapers that all Italy will be overturned. Venice is no more ; and Genoa has been completely revolutionized by Citizen Faypout, the Minister of France.

Portugal sees, but seems unable to escape her fate.

Though these are days of wonder, still one dares not believe all we hear. The march already made by France has astonished and confounded every beholder—and we are told that she meditates and will attempt projects still more gigantic than those she has executed—plans which will operate a change in the whole face of Europe, and which extend to every other quarter of the globe. Russia may be able to preserve her dominions from the fire that is passing over the neighbouring countries. This nation has lately renewed her commercial treaty with Russia, and by an arrangement of their mutual interests may strengthen their common defence. It may be worth remarking that during this negotiation Russia never even proposed the project of the armed

\* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 260.

neutrality, so that the omission of the requisite provisions on that subject may be considered as an abandonment of the system by Russia.

Russia is to be treated in the British ports upon the same footing as the most favored European nation. Farewell.

Yours, &c., &c.

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T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

" DEPARTMENT OF STATE, July 8, 1797.

" DEAR SIR :

" . . . The letter from Governor Blount to Carey has been considered by both Houses of Congress. . . . This intended Impeachment induced Governor Blount and his friends to endeavour to postpone a decision on a question of expulsion (from the Senate) until the trial on the Impeachment should be had ; when, if found guilty, his removal from office would be a part of his sentence. . . . But the impropriety of suffering a Senator incontrovertibly guilty of the crimes exhibited in his Letter to Carey, to retain his seat was stated with great force and justice ; and after hearing Governor Blount by his Counsel (Messrs. Ingersoll and Dallas), the Senate this day pronounced the Sentence of Expulsion with only one dissenting voice, Mr. Tazewell's—25 Senators were present. Mess. Mason, Stockton, Schuyler, Paine and Langdon, together with the Vice President were absent. Mr. Bradford was President pro tempore.

Precisely to understand the nature of Governor Blount's offence, it will be necessary to remind and inform you that Col. Hawkins (whom you well know) is the actual Superintendent of the United States for the four Southern Indian Nations ; that Dinsmoor is a particular agent of the U. S. residing among the Cherokees ; that Byers is the factor charged with the public store at Tallico-Blockhouse, for carrying on trade with the Indians, and that Carey, to whom the Letter was written, was the Interpreter regularly appointed and in constant pay of the United States for the Cherokee Nation. Carey had been employed in the same capacity during Governor Blount's Superintendency, and doubtless was

supposed by the latter to be devoted to his interest, and absolutely subject to his direction. Chisholm also used to be an agent of the Governor and was often employed by him in Indian affairs, carrying messages into their nations and repeatedly conducting the Chiefs to and from Philadelphia. Chisholm came on here last winter with a party of the Cherokee Chiefs. You will see by Mr. Liston's note to me, dated the second instant, that several persons were concerned in offering to him the project exhibited in Governor Blount's Letter. But their names are not yet known. . . . "

The following letter from Mr. Liston will be interesting in this connection as showing the circumstances under

\* " Along with the papers transmitted to Congress in relation to the Spanish business was the copy of a letter from William Blount, late Governor of the Territory south of the Ohio, and now one of the Senators from Tennessee, addressed to a recently appointed Indian agent (Carey) among the Cherokees, by whom it had been communicated to the President. It appeared from this letter, as well as from information furnished by Liston, the new British Minister, of whom explanations had been asked, that Blount was engaged in an intrigue for transferring New Orleans and the neighboring districts to the British by means of a joint expedition, Britain to furnish a naval force, and a co-operating corps of backwoodsmen and Indians to be raised on the western frontier of the United States. Desperately involved in extensive land speculations in Tennessee, and wishing to relieve himself by getting up an English company for the purchase of his lands, Blount dreaded the re-transfer to the French, a military and not a commercial nation, of the outlet of the Mississippi, a transfer expected, and indeed supposed by some to be already made. Conceiving that it would be for the interest of the Western people, as well as for his own private benefit as a land speculator, that Louisiana should pass into the hands of the English, he relied upon his influence with the backwoodsmen of Tennessee, and with the Southern Indians, among whom he had long acted as agent, to raise a necessary force. He had engaged as his chief co-operator one Chisholm, a wild backwoodsman, well acquainted with the Spanish posts, and who had conceived against the Spanish authorities, from some collisions with them, a bitter hatred and an ardent desire of revenge, and, in his letter, laid before Congress, he had sought to engage in his schemes the Indian agent to whom it was addressed. . . .

" It did not appear that the British minister had given to it any other countenance beyond yielding to Chisholm's earnest request to be sent to England to lay the project before the British ministry, by whom it was rejected on the very ground that it might interfere with the neutrality of the United States."—Hildreth's *His. of U. S.*, 2d Ser., vol. ii., pp. 88-90.

which he introduced Mr. Chisholm to his correspondent in England.

R. LISTON TO J. H. GOVERTS, ESQ.

PHILADELPHIA, 16th March, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

I beg leave to recommend to your attention and good offices the bearer of this Letter, Mr. John Chisholm, a native of Scotland, but settled from his early years in this Country. He goes to Europe to dispose of certain Lands situated in different parts of America, but particularly in the South : and if you can in this point render him any service, you will personally oblige me. I beg however that before you do anything definitive & particularly before you either advance or even promise money, you will naturally consider the long letter I wrote you on this subject on the 13th of last month. This I say so far as it regards myself ; as to others I give you full liberty to do, and to allow him to do, whatever you please.

My injunctions on this subject are the more positive, as I have lately seen Capt. W, from the Genessee Country & listened with a pleasure mixed with regret, which I cannot describe, to his description of the new Settlements he is carrying on there. Upon my honour, it is enough to make a man go stark staring mad. However, mum ! I do not hold this language to my friends in London, and I beg you never may.

I do not think it impossible that Mr. Chisholm may push on to London, if he is not completely successful at Hamburg. If so, and if he applies to you for a recommendation to any of your correspondents in London, I beg you will not refuse it to him. I do not intend he should return *re infecta*, and I am well acquainted with your goodness. . . . The damned French Rogues are playing the Devil with this country, as they have done with all the world ; but, as you used to say, when things are at the worst, they must mend. Amen, so be it.

With perfect truth, your most obedient and faithful humble  
Servant,

R. LISTON.

WM. BINGHAM TO R. KING.

PHILADA., July 10, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

I received your Letter of April 26th, with several inclosures from the Marquis of Lansdown, who, I am pleased to find, is much gratified with the Portrait of the President. Stewart has been much disappointed in his Hopes relative to Profits, which he expected to derive from this Picture. He had wrote to his friend West, requesting him to engage an able artist to execute an Engraving therefrom, which, from the general admiration the picture attracted, might have been disposed of to great advantage in this Country. He has not heard from Mr. West, & he is fearful that Lord Lansdown's obliging character may induce him to permit some other artist to take off the Impression.\*

Congress has finished its Sessions. Its acts during that Period, partake strongly of a Disposition towards Peace, thro' friendly Negotiation. Many of our Friends, who believe war with France inevitable, wished the public councils to assume that appearance. In the meantime our Commerce is much molested, & Bankruptcies are already happening in our great Towns. A stagnation is taking place in business of all kinds ; the Wages of Labor are lowering ; Property of all kinds is much diminished in value ; Disappointment in their views, joined to a great scarcity of money, has put an end to the various extravagant Speculations, which disgraced the Country ; many of those, who engaged deeply, are ruined & involved great numbers in their Misfortunes.

A general Hope prevails, that Peace will take place in Europe as the result of the present Negotiations. This alone will heal our Misunderstanding with the French Republic. A Commission of Envoys extraordinary has been instituted ; it is questionable whether they will be received, & still more doubtful whether, if received, their Negotiation will be successful. If war should ensue, I dread the Disorganization and extreme Disorder which will arise out of it, especially in the Southern Parts of the Union.

The public papers will inform you of the Expulsion of Gov. Blount from the Senate. A Letter, which you will find published,

\* This happened, and thus Stuart lost the benefit.

he wrote to the Interpreter of the Cherokee Nation was the Cause of it. A Project was set on foot, ostensibly to engage & encourage the British to attack the Spanish Settlements. But it rather appears that the real object was to alarm the Spaniards, and when the Agents in this Business had created serious Apprehensions in their Minds, then to offer their Services to arrest or oppose its Progress, from which they expected to derive immense advantages. This nefarious Scheme was dark & intricate, & the full Extent of its Views is not yet unravelled. It has defeated the Provisions of the Spanish Treaty, as relative to the Cession of Territory, near the Boundary Line, & without great Prudence, at the present moment, on the part of our Government may involve us in a war with that nation.

I will write to Baron Hompesch on the Subject of his Proposals relative to the Transportation of his Germans to this Country : I do not think that I can offer him much Encouragement. Such an arrangement can only succeed after a Variety of necessary Measures have been pursued preparatory to their Arrival. However I will present the Matter to him in different Points of View, so that he shall be fully acquainted with the Subject & be able to act with Confidence.

With great sincerity yours,

WM. BINGHAM.

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R. KING TO WM. HINDMAN.

LONDON, July 15, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

It was some time after my arrival here that I received the Letter that you wrote to me just before my embarkation. My Brother accompanied me as my Secretary, but as he is destined to the Profession of the Law, and had not been admitted to the Bar when he left America, he has returned home in order to pursue his Studies. This has occasioned a vacancy in the place of my Secretary, which I am willing should be filled by Mr. Helmsley. Inclosed is a letter for him which I request you to deliver. Mr. Helmsley will be one of my family in all respects, except that he will not lodge in my house. This was the footing on which Mr.

Deas was with my Predecessor. . . . My table will be that of my Secretary, and his servant will eat with mine. I mention these small circumstances that no misconception may take place respecting them. If I have but a very slight knowledge of Mr. Helmsley that indeed has left favorable impressions of his character; I rely essentially upon your knowledge and recommendation of it. I shall be inclined to treat him as a friend, if he will put it in my power. . . .

Farewell, my worthy friend, and accept  
the assurance of my sincere Esteem and Friendship,  
RUFUS KING.

## CHAPTER XVI.

**Maryland Bank Stock**—Mr. King advises no partial Regulations relative to the Detention of Seamen—Provision of Money to meet Obligations under Treaty with Tunis—Sir Joseph Banks asks for Passport for Mr. Masson to go to America to collect Plants—Letter of R. King to M. Talleyrand, introducing Col. Trumbull and Asking his friendly Influence to aid in removing the Troubles between France and the United States—R. King to the Secretary of State—France probably owns Louisiana—Genl. Allen's Claim—T. Pickering on Gov. Blount's Conspiracy—R. King to A. Hamilton—Gloomy Views relative to Affairs in Europe—Letters from G. Cabot and Wm. Hindman—R. King to T. Jefferson—S. Williams relative to Genl. Lafayette.

### R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, July 19, 1797.

MY LORD :

I have the honor to send your Lordship inclosed copies of my Letter of the 10th of February and also of a Letter that some time ago I wrote to the Lord Chancellor respecting the Maryland Bank Stock. I have the satisfaction to add that the Lord Chancellor lately informed me that the Certificate (which for many years has been in the Court of Chancery) is now in a situation in which a Transfer of the Stock could be made to me, provided his Majesty under his Sign Manual would give an order for that Purpose.

Since the date of my Letter to the Chancellor, I have ascertained that the other persons who claimed to be indemnified from the Fund for their Losses in Maryland, have as American Loyalists been compensated for these Losses by his Majesty's Government, so that the Claim is freed from those demands, which are supposed formerly to have obstructed the Transfer. I take the Liberty to request your Lordship's interference for the Purpose of Completing, in such manner as shall be deemed adviseable,

the Transfer of the said Stock to me for the use of the State of Maryland.

With perfect Consideration & Respect, &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, July 20, 1797.

MY LORD :

From what has taken place in the Court of Chancery, I flatter myself that there no longer exists any objection agt. the Transfer of the Maryland Bk. Stock : my only remaining concern is, that the Business should be finished without Delay. Since the Transfer is to be made, I take the liberty to express to your Lordship my earnest wish, that it may take place as soon as possible. I think I do not deceive myself in supposing that the satisfactory settlement of this Affair at the present juncture may be attended with consequences mutually beneficial to both Countries.

I presume that the order will enjoin the Accountant General of the Court of Chancery to pay over such Dividends as he may have received since the Stock has stood in his name, and which may not have been invested in further Sums of capital Stock.

I intreat your Lordship's attention to this Subject before the King goes to Weymouth ; and beg you to accept the assurance of the sincere Respect and Esteem, &c.

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, July 27, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

I was a few days since informed that Instructions were by the last vessel sent to Mr. Liston to propose an article to be added to the late Treaty, which should stipulate that all Deserters from the Army and Navy of the two countries should be delivered up and obliged to return to the service from which they deserted. This Instruction, it is understood, has been given in consequence of

the inconvenience experienced by the British Ships of war in our Ports. We cannot with propriety object to such just and convenient Regulations as may be calculated to promote and secure a good Understanding and friendly intercourse between us and other Nations. But that proposed embraces only part of a Subject of great Extent and Importance ; and it does not appear to me that it would consist with good Policy to enter into any partial Stipulations respecting it ; more especially when our repeated Overtures to adjust the entire Subject on Principles of liberality and mutual advantage, if not neglected, have not been received in a manner we had a Right to expect.

I have received a letter from Col. Humphries, dated the 21st of June, in which he informs me that it is probable that our Peace with Tunis has been concluded and that for the purpose of completing our Treaties with the three principal Barbary Powers, he may be obliged to draw on the House of Barings for 170,000 or 200,000 dollars ; he adds that he has no other resource but the Credit of the United States in London, and that a failure in the procuring of this Sum, may put at Risque what we have already expended to accomplish this object. The House of Barings are already in advance a few Thousand Pounds beyond the Funds remitted to them. You are sensible that I have no authority to enter into any engagements upon this Subject, the whole concern having been committed to Col. Humphries.

I have not however on that account omitted to employ the best means in my power to make a provisional arrangement for the advance of this money, should Col. Humphries be under the necessity of drawing for it. Accordingly the Mess. Hopes and the House of Barings have agreed to accept and pay Col. Humphries' Bills. The Business will be conducted by the House of Barings. I have informed Col. Humphries of this arrangement and shall in a few days be able to send you Copies of the Letters between Col. Humphries and me and between me and the Mess. Barings ; these will give you full information of the terms upon which the money will be advanced by the Mess. Hopes & Barings. . . .

My letter of the 26th of June will apprise you of the Regulations I have presented to Mr. Bayard concerning the Receipt, Custody and payment of the Monies. (Paid under the Decisions

of the Commissioners for settling claims & damages against England.) The affairs of some of the Claimants have been deranged and their Creditors employ every means to seize their property wherever it can be found. Among these means they have served attachments upon Mr. Bayard to arrest any property which may come into his Hands. This circumstance joined to an opinion that my Superintendence of the Payments might be advantageous have induced me to deposit the Money received on the Awards in the Bank of England to my Credit. I have at the same time by procuration appointed Mr. Bayard to draw for and pay the Money to the respective Claimants. This Arrangement will disappoint the Schemes of Arrestation that otherwise might have been practised, and as the Receipt Book will show the sums drawn and the names of the persons to whom paid, this check will be in favor of a correct execution of this Trust.

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c.

RUFUS KING.

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SIR JOSEPH BANKS TO R. KING.

SOHO SQUARE, July 29, 1797.

SIR :

The King having been graciously pleased to give orders that Mr. Francis Masson, a Botanic Gardener who has for many years been employed to collect Plants for the Royal Gardens at Kew in Various parts of Europe, Africa & America, do proceed to upper Canada to collect and transmit from thence to Kew such Plants as he may discover which have not yet been described by Botanical Writers ; and it having been represented to his Majesty that the most commodious Rout Mr. Masson can chuse is by the way of New York, I have his Majesty's command to solicit your Excellency to furnish him with the necessary Passports for his intended journey.

I beg leave at the same time to state to your Excellency that it appears to me very desirable that Mr. Masson should during the time of his Residence in upper Canada, visit the immense Tract of high Land between the Lakes Michigan and Huron, from whence numerous rivers take their Rise, some of which discharge their waters into the Western & some into the Eastern Lakes,

provided that the States of America are not likely to make any objection to his undertaking this journey, of which I beg your Excellency's opinion and also your advice how to proceed in case it is deemed proper that Mr. Masson should Receive it before he undertakes to carry on his Enquiries within the American Boundaries. I have the honor to be

with respect, esteem & regard, your Excellencies

Obedient Hble Servant

Jos. BANKS.

It cannot be without interest to read the following letter to M. Talleyrand, and especially in view of his conduct towards the envoys who had been sent from the United States to endeavor to reconcile the two nations and re-establish the good feeling which had formerly existed. How entirely Mr. King misunderstood the wily and dishonest statesman at that time is only too evident.

R. KING TO MONS. TALLEYRAND, &c.

LONDON, 3d Aug., 1797.

DEAR SIR :

My Countryman and friend Col. John Trumbull is going to Stuttgart for the purpose of receiving a Plate that has been engraved for him in that City from a Picture which he painted some years since in Commemoration of a military Event that occurred in our Revolutionary War. It would very much shorten his journey if he could receive a Passport to go and return thro' France. I therefore take the liberty to state to you his wishes and if no public consideration forbids it, I think I can rely upon your disposition to gratify Col. Trumbull in his request. If the Passport is lodged with the Mayor or Municipality of Calais, he will without difficulty find it on his arrival at that Place.

I cannot suffer the present occasion to pass, without offering you my congratulations upon your appointment to the office of Foreign Affairs, a department always and in every country important ; but nowhere so much so as with you at the present Juncture. Neither will I affect to conceal from you that the satisfaction with which I have heard of your choice has not been

purely disinterested. We have been accustomed to converse on every subject with the greatest freedom ; and though I ought to impose upon myself a reserve that official situation on both sides may seem to recommend, yet I prefer to express my sentiments with that frankness which you approve and practice and which always belongs to important occasions.

You know, because you have resided among us, that we desire to have neither attachment nor aversion to any Nation. France has no cause to believe that we prefer any other to her, and you can pronounce, if we had an aversion to any Nation, that it would not be to yours. Not yet recovered from the Derangement in our affairs produced by our Revolutionary War, busily employed in watching the operations of our new organization, and in gaining by our Union Strength and Consistency, we were forbid by all the Duties of Patriotism from suffering ourselves to become Parties in a war in which from situation, we could afford little aid, and should be certain to suffer great, if not irreparable Evils. Our Policy has, therefore, been by practising Justice to all and by observing the most scrupulous and exact neutrality, to establish and confirm our State, to remain in peace. Unfortunately our success has not corresponded with our Expectations ; you witnessed the Posture of our affairs when we suffered by the British Depredations on our Commerce, and you saw its influence upon the public opinion, and you also perfectly understand the motives which guided us in the Measures we adopted to procure Compensation for our Losses and to maintain our National Peace.

The afflicting Events which have since occurred are notorious: but their extent and tendency are, I apprehend, greater and more consequential than has been supposed. It is neither France nor America which will be benefitted by the angry Passions which so many causes unite to provoke. This is a fruitful and interesting topic : to your mind it is not necessary to present its details ; you will view the subject in the extensive consequences with which it is connected, and I am confident that you will exhibit it in the light in which a wise Policy requires it should be seen. Without intimating how much, in my poor opinion, the Character of the future Connections of America with Europe will depend upon the Sentiments of France concerning Questions which have arisen and must be decided, I will only add to these private and

personal observations, that from the moment I heard that you had been named to the Department of Foreign Affairs, I have felt a satisfactory Confidence that the Cause of the increasing Misunderstanding between us would cease, and that the overtures meditated by our Government would not fail to restore Harmony and Friendship between the two Countries.

Accept, my dear Sir, the assurances of the Sincere attachment & Esteem, &c., &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO R. TROUP.

DEAR SIR :

LONDON, Aug. 4, 1797.

I promised myself a treasure in your correspondence, for really one's friends are so occupied, or so little inclined to give themselves the trouble of writing even the familiar incidents which occur from day to day, that when absent we know very little of what is passing at Home. You began with me in a way that promised to leave me no regrets on this subject, but unfortunately I have recd. but a single letter from you since your promotion. Now, my dear Judge, I must appeal to your Equity, for I think you are a chancellor as well as a common Law Judge, and with its assistance endeavour to enforce your engagement to be a punctual, nay a better correspondent than Hamilton, or any other of our friends whom you sometimes amuse yourself with. As for Lawrance, I have not heard from him since he became a Senator. . . .

Farewell, yrs.,

R. K.

Do you know, my dear Judge, that the Debates which took place in May & June last in a certain Assembly, did not afford me any gratification? Is it that they were ill reported, or that they did not display the true character of our country?

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

DEAR SIR:

LONDON, Aug. 5, 1797.

. . . Great Secrecy prevails concerning the Negotiations at Lisle, which may be protracted for many Months, and probably are to be very materially affected by the result of the Struggle

which exists at Paris between the different Parties. The Refusal to evacuate the Spanish Posts in the Mississippi according to the Stipulations of the Treaty ; the Spoliations committed upon our Commerce by the Spanish Privateers, and that under the most scandalous pretexts, joined to the prevalence of the Rumour that Spain has actually ceded Louisiana to France, are circumstances of some weight in leading us to apprehend that France has really become the Proprietor of that extensive and undefined Region.

Immediately on the Receipt of your Letter of the 16th of June I communicated to Lord Grenville the President's opinion and wishes respecting the Military Stores claimed by General Allen ;\* and in consequence thereof, notwithstanding this Government has received Information which was confidentially shewn to me that the Arms were French Property, and that General Allen would lose nothing by their Condemnation, I have been assured, and am satisfied, that the Government are disposed to restore them without farther Enquiry : but the Captors, who have no Interest in the Question, refuse to consent to the restoration, and persist in holding the property for Trial. The process is at a stage when according to the usual Custom of the Court, the claimant has a Title to receive the Property on bail. I have advised General Allen to endeavour to obtain Possession of the Property in this way, and, in case he fails in the attempt, to leave the claim in the care of his Counsel and to return home. . . .

With great Respect & Esteem, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

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T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Aug. 5, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

In my letter of the 8th of July I gave you some information respecting Governor Blount's conspiracy. The House of Representatives appointed a Committee to sit in the recess, with power to send for persons and papers. By this authority they sent and took Dr. Romaine of New York and his papers ; but I do not learn that any important discoveries were the consequence. The Party, who stick at nothing to excite resentment against

\* Case of the *Olive Branch*.

Great Britain, ascribe the plot to her Minister, Mr. Liston, and pronounce that the British Government was at the bottom of it. But no evidence has as yet appeared to warrant these charges. On the contrary, Mr. Liston's frank declarations, verbally and in writing, have been verified, and the discoveries, as to the participation of the British amount to no more than this—That certain citizens of the United States, of whom Capt. John Chisholm was one, made proposals early last winter to Mr. Liston, for an expedition against the Floridas and adjacent possessions of Spain, to be carried on by land with the aid of citizens of the United States, assisted by the Indians, and by sea, on the part of the British; that Mr. Liston among other objections to the project offered these two, that upon the plan proposed the expedition could not be carried into execution without violating the neutral rights of the United States, nor without employing the Indians; that he nevertheless thought it his duty to communicate the project to his Government, accompanied with his objections; and that his Government rejected the proposals, because the means suggested were inadequate to the object; and because, independently of all other objections, the two reasons of Mr. Liston above mentioned were sufficient to determine the British Ministry not to adopt it. It appears also that the answer of Lord Grenville not arriving so soon as Chisholm expected, he became impatient; and importuned Mr. Liston to let him go in person to London to tell his own story, which with much hesitation and reluctance Mr. Liston consented, paying his passage.

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R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.\*

LONDON, August 6th, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

No satisfactory opinion can yet be formed concerning the termination of the negotiations for peace. Even those who are supposed to have the best information are without confidence. On the one hand, peace may be concluded sooner than any one thinks probable. On the other, the negotiations at Lisle and Montebello may be suddenly broken off, and France again engaged with Austria, as well as England. A great struggle in which

\* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 262.

all Europe think themselves interested exists between the two Councils and a majority of the Directory, for it is well understood that almost every question is decided in this latter body by three against two. If the Councils prevail, peace is believed to be more probable ; if the war continues, Denmark and the neighboring free cities, Portugal, perhaps Switzerland, and even Greece, as well as the whole of Italy will be revolutionized. I wish I could write to you with the same freedom as we could converse. How far the new order of things is to extend, which are still to be overturned, and who are to be spared, is a subject concerning which we amuse ourselves with conjectures. It would be a consolation, could we anywhere discover a mind of adequate foresight and authority to influence, to combine and apply to their proper and legitimate uses, the disposition and the means which unquestionably exist to resist and baffle the monstrous force which overturns and will continue to lay waste every country against which it bends its energies. Paradoxical as it may appear, the people are less wrong than their governments, which, everywhere seem to be destitute of both wisdom and courage. I cannot except even the government of this country, which possessing the command of the resources of the richest nation in Europe, with a clear and distinct view of the total insecurity of any compromise with their enemy, still dismounts and lowers the national spirit and courage by fruitless and repeated efforts to restore peace. Men are mortal and by a law to which they are subject, can exist but for a limited time. Societies are exempt from this law, and there is nothing in their nature that limits their improvement, in duration ; still the analogy is but too strict, and we seem to be doomed to witness, if not to suffer, in the dissolution of the present social organization. Farewell—when I am able to give you a gayer prospect I will write you again.

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G. CABOT TO R. KING, LONDON.

BROOKLINE, August 17, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR :

Altho' it is a long time since I had the pleasure of hearing from you, yet I have no right to complain, but we are full of concern for the fate of Europe, which we know may ultimately affect our

own ; we are anxious to see the condition of their political wrecks, after the revolutionary storm shall subside. But when will this happen ? I, who am a sailor, have great fears of a sudden calm ; the tempestuous gales, which threaten to overwhelm the ship, furnish also some means of escape, but the terrible agitations, which succeed the wind, bring a destruction which cannot be resisted & from which there can be no flight. . . . I refer you to the public papers for all sorts of news & I am mortified that they should tell to you & the world how much we are disgraced by the Congressional discussions of the last session. But at the same time, I think that I can assure you that the people are infinitely better than many of the Representatives, and that infamous servility discovered in the debates has been properly reprobated.

Ever your sincere friend,

G. CABOT.

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WM. HINDMAN TO R. KING, LONDON.

BELLFIELD, TALBOT COUNTY, MARYLAND, Aug. 21st, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . I presume you have been already gratified in hearing that there is a Majority of fæderal Members in the House of Representatives ; it is by the bye a very bare one. Of this number there are some new Members who want training. They sometimes get frightened and fly the way ; I am in hopes they will understand things better at the next Session & feel the necessity of going with the Friends of Government upon all occasions. The Antis, or Jacobins, or whatever name may be given them, are ever at their Post, always prepared to seize upon any Prey which may offer, whenever they discover a new member, who comes under the character of fæderal, in any sort wavering. They hang about him, flatter him, sometimes completely seduce him. In this they have an Advantage, as the same measures are not taken on our side of the Question. Jacobinism I think is on the Decline, happily for the Friends of Government and those who administer it ; whenever any Plots or Villainies are discovered it ever falls upon those worthless Men, who have the Effrontery to

stile themselves *the exclusive Patriots*. Quondam Senator Blount's letter you must have seen.

The Ministerial appointment of our Friend W. Smith of Charleston will be a great loss to our House, unless he is succeeded either by your Predecessor Major Pinckney or Mr. Desasoare, of which I hear there are some Hopes ; it is said if either of those Gentlemen will consent to stand, there is no doubt of their Election ; if they do not, there is some danger that our former Acquaintance, Charles Pinckney of the Old Congress will be elected : this would be very unfortunate. . . .

Most of the great Land Speculators are Bankrupt. Mess. Nicholson, Greenleaf, Judge Willson are said to be in Jail. Mr. Morris has been for some time confined to his own House for Fear of the common Jail. I hear he means to surrender himself shortly ; his notes have been for some time as low as five cents in the Pound.

Mr. Smith & myself were alone at Mrs. Williams last session. . . . The Old Lady drinks less than she used to do. . . .

Yrs. affecty. & sincerely,

WM. HINDMAN.

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R. KING TO THOS. JEFFERSON.

LONDON, Aug. 22, 1797.

SIR :

I have requested Capt. Newel of the Ship Cleopatra, who is bound to Philadelphia to take charge of a Diploma delivered to me for you by Sir John Sinclair, President of the Board of Agriculture.

I have just received from Mr. Strickland a letter for you ; but as he informs me that the letter is to accompany a small box, containing an assortment of seeds which is also to be sent to my care, but which has not yet been received, I shall detain this letter to be sent with the box by a future opportunity.

With perfect respect I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obed. & faithful servt.,

RUFUS KING.

## S. WILLIAMS TO R. KING.

HAMBURGH, 22d Aug., 1797.

SIR :

I have the pleasure to inform you that the Marquis de la Fayette and his companions will soon be at liberty. The French Government, or laws, *denying them an entry into France*, the Emperor has been pleased to order that they shall be at liberty to proceed to Holland, or to embark at Hamburgh for the United States, provided proper measures be taken to pursue either route within eight days after their arrival here. The Baron de Buol, the Imperial Minister, has been instructed to apply to Mr. Parish (as Consul) and make the necessary arrangements. He called and communicated to me his instructions. As Consul, I told him, I was not authorized to take any steps, but in a private capacity I was ready to do all that was required in case the Marquis were desirous to embark for the U. S. I soon met Mr. Childs and Mr. Joy. We agreed to provide the Marquis and his family with a passage and every necessary, if wanted—certain that we should have, at least, a compensation, in gratifying our feelings, by procuring them a speedy release. I waited on the minister the next day (yesterday) and informed him of the steps we were ready to take.

A friend of the Marquis was at Vienna and had a conference with the Imperial Minister relative to this business. He is here and had seen Mr. Parish, and obtained a letter from him to the Baron de Buol, with an offer similar to ours. He and another friend went with me to the Baron's, who has communicated our arrangements to his Court, and who appears well disposed. Although the condition of their release is that they quit the territory of the Empire eight days after their arrival in this city, the Minister observed that he did not doubt of their being indulged agreeably to their wishes, and that if the state of the Marquis' health would not admit of his proceeding immediately to Holland or America, he might reside at Altona.

It appears to be the wish of his friends, that he go by the shortest rout to Holland ; they expect, perhaps, that he will have leave to enter France and recover his property. I hope so, for, *entre nous*, I would rather that he and his companions were there

than in the U. S. Knowing that it will gratify his best Friend General Washington and our Countrymen in general, I shall render him every service in my power.

Respectfully &c., &c.,

S. WILLIAMS.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Senator Blount's Expulsion from the Senate—Mr. Liston's Conduct—R. King declines a Dinner offered by American Merchants—Gen. Lafayette—R. King to the Secretary of State, thanking him for regular Information on the Affairs of the U. S., and sending to him an Account of European Politics—Lafayette and French Affairs—Disturbances in Ireland—Release of Lafayette, and his Arrival in Hamburgh—Lafayette to R. King.

### R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

*Private.*

GR. CUMBERLAND PLACE, 28th Aug., 1797.

MY LORD :

Having just received dispatches from Philadelphia, I take the liberty to send your Lordship several newspapers containing the Proceedings of the Congress relative to Thomas Blount, who was expelled from the Senate on the 8th of July by all the voices except one.

It has given me great satisfaction to observe, and especially as it corresponds with the tenor of my reports to the American Government, that his Majesty's ministers so distinctly disapproved the project contrived by Blount and his associates, the moment they were apprized of it.

But I cannot avoid regretting that Mr. Liston suffered an occasion so favorable to the promotion of the good harmony between the two countries to pass without turning it to profit by communicating to the American Government the existence of a scheme so full of mischief and so hazardous to our Peace. . . .

With perfect consid'n.,

R. KING.

## R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, Aug. 28, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

Before I received your Letter of the 8th of July, communicating the intercepted letter of Mr. Blount, I had entertained suspicions and been on the watch, respecting certain characters who had appeared here from the Tennessee Country. In the ship John Henderson, which arrived here last spring from Philadelphia, came Captain Chisholm and another person who called himself Doctor Hutter. The latter is a Dutchman who I am informed has lived several years in Knoxville. Hutter has said that his coming with Chisholm was accidental, that he came to England for the purpose of going from thence to the Continent, which, as he alledged, he has several times attempted to do, but not having the requisite Passports to leave this Country, has been stopped and turned back. Neither Hutter nor Chisholm have come near me ; *and by the reports of a person in some measure in their confidence,\* I have been repeatedly informed that Chisholm since his arrival has received money from this Government, that he has sometimes spoken of having had an interview with Lord Grenville, and having plunged into the dissipation of this City, and spent his money, that he had been redeemed from the custody of the Bailiff by the Government's paying his debts. This they refused doing except Chisholm would immediately leave the Country which he promised to do, but has not yet done.* Hutter says that he lodged in the same house with Chisholm in Second Street Philadelphia, that Chisholm was often backwards and forwards *between the houses of Blount and Liston, and that the latter was several times at the house in which they lodged : that they brought a letter of introduction from Liston to a Mrs. Thomas or Thomson who lives in Halfmoon Street, and at whose House they lodged on their first arrival here ; that this woman is an old friend of Liston's, having been abroad in his family for many years.*

Hutter is reserved and cautious, says little concerning his own affairs but sometimes has intimated *to the person who at my desire has observed them*, that Chisholm in his opinion had been sent here by Blount and that his mission was connected with a pro-

\* Italics in cipher.

ject to invade Florida, *and perhaps to separate Tennessee and the Western Country from the American Union.* I cannot, I think, be mistaken in the information that Chisholm *has received money here, and at several times : the sums have been inconsiderable and such as his course of life soon dissipated. He is said to have brought a letter of Credit from Mr. Bell of Philadelphia to a Mr. Wilson of London.* This is a thread which you may follow : I shall be able to ascertain *from Wilson* whether this information is correct. By *Mr. d'Asp, the Swedish Envoy here, and who was at Constantinople with Liston*, I am ascertained that *Mrs. Thomas, the person at whose house Hutter and Chisholm lodged, was really with Liston in Turkey.* Chisholm is again arrested for his Debts, and is at this time in a Lock-up House in Chancery Lane. I do *not despair of being able to obtain the possession of Chisholm's papers, tho' the publication of Blount's Letter, as well as of those between you and Liston which have appeared in all the News Papers may put the parties on their guard.*

With perfect Respect and Esteem, &c., &c.,

RUFUS KING.

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LORD GRENVILLE TO R. KING.

*Private.*

DROPMORE, Aug. 30, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR :

I am much obliged to you for the communication of the American Papers you sent me. I am not sorry for the accident which has afforded the means of proving the principles and rules by which our conduct is guided in everything that affects the Peace and tranquillity of the U. S. : but I hardly think that Mr. Liston would have been at liberty to communicate to the Govt. of the U. S. a proposal of this nature, the communication of which might have involved the proposers in much personal risk, while the plan itself could be productive of no inconvenience to your Government,—since it could never be acted upon but by the cooperation of the King's Ministers—a cooperation which Mr. Liston had no reason to presume could be given, and which was accordingly refused in the most distinct & pointed manner, on the first intimation we received of the business.

I own I think that Mr. Liston (tho' acting for the best unquestionably & with great means of judging of the line which he was to pursue) has nevertheless gone at least to the utmost extent of what his situation allowed, if not somewhat beyond it, when he answered the letter of Col. Pickering by an avowal which may prejudice individuals supposed to be implicated in it. I have however no reason to regret in the present instance that the subject did not strike him in the light in which it might perhaps have struck me in the same situation, as the consequence has only been to evince still more clearly the correctness of our principles and conduct.

Ever, my dear Sir,  
Most faithfully & sincerely your obt. Hum. Servt.,  
GRENVILLE.

It would appear that the merchants in London interested in American commerce asked Mr. King to accept a dinner as an evidence of their gratitude for the efficient efforts he had made to facilitate their trade and protect them from the depredations consequent upon the persistent interference by French enactments and cruisers. The answer below is characteristic of the Minister.

R. KING TO H. M. BIRD.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Sep. 1, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 31st ult. We still remain in Town, and are uncertain when we shall be able to pursue our projected excursion. Concerning the intentions of the American Merchants, which you have been so obliging as to communicate to me, I entreat you to believe and to assure these Gentlemen, sensible as I am of the honor of their good opinion, that it will be far more agreeable to me that their purpose should be postponed, than that it should be carried into execution. As I do not entertain the smallest Doubt of their good wishes and friendly sentiments towards my Country, I cannot on that score desire the Proof thereof which they have

proposed to give ; and so far as I have any personal wishes, they will be best gratified by availing myself with the least possible éclat of every occasion that shall occur to render to you and them any service that my situation shall permit.

With great consideration and Esteem, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, Sept. 1. 1797.

DEAR SIR :

I am much obliged to you for the regular and satisfactory information that your correspondence has afforded me. Nothing could be more unpleasant, and I may add more disadvantageous, in my situation than to be without authentic information concerning what is passing in our own Country ; and it is with very sincere pleasure that I acknowledge the attention, which, amidst other engagements, you have found time to bestow upon the Correspondence with this Legation. There is an authenticity in your letters that you must not expect to find in those of our Foreign Ministers. You possess all the means of giving a correct Report of the situation in our domestic affairs ; while we on the contrary, are often obliged to form an opinion upon contradictory evidence. From this consideration I have indulged myself less in troubling you with Speculations relative to affairs in which we have a common interest than I should have done, had I either possessed more complete information concerning them, or more adequate means of procuring it. I do not, however, recollect that I have ever expressed to you an opinion that a general Peace was likely to be the Result either of the Preliminaries with Austria or of the Negotiations at Lisle : indeed my uniform opinion has been, as it now is, that the Peace of Europe was still far, very far distant. Was Peace concluded tomorrow upon the Terms on which alone it could be, with the Temper and Principles which prevail and under the present circumstances of the Parties, it would not be durable. I therefore do exceedingly regret to observe that Congress have been in any degree influenced by an opinion that the Peace of Europe was about to be

restored, and that consequently they might dispense with those wise and, in my judgment indispensable precautions which the President recommended for their adoption.

Nothing can be more erroneous in the Politicks of a Nation than to omit on any consideration, much less on the score of a mistaken and dangerous economy, those Preparations for self defence and national safety, which, even in days of profound Peace, ought not to be neglected, and of which, in this mighty crisis of human affairs, he must be blind who does not see the absolute necessity. It is a false, and will prove a fatal, security, if we allow ourselves to be persuaded that we are either too just, too remote, too wise, or too powerful to be drawn into the present war, which continues to exhaust and threatens to change the face of Europe, and the results of which, in reference to the whole world, were never more uncertain or beyond the reach of human foresight, than at the present moment.

In Italy, the negotiations still continue, while the Emperor with great activity is reinforcing his armies and completing the Feudal organization of his Subjects in Hungary. The preliminaries with Austria stipulated among other things the restoration of Mantua and the assembling of a Congress of all the Powers affected by the war for the purpose of concluding a definitive and general Peace : the Performance of these Stipulations France desires to avoid, the Emperor insists, and there seems to be no small Probability of the recommencement of war between them. At Lisle the Prospect is still more unpromising, and it may with confidence be concluded, unless a temper more pacific on the part of France shall prevail, that the negotiation will entirely fail and that the war will be pursued with encreased Vehemence and Energy.

England will probably consent to restore to France all her Conquests ; to Holland, all but Ceylon and the Cape, perhaps the former of these places also ; and it is not likely that she would hesitate to restore Trinidad to Spain. In respect to Belgium, she would not insist on what the Emperor has consented to relinquish for Equivalents ; but this is not enough. France, by her Canada project, delivered at Lisle, is understood to have required for herself a restoration of all the places that England had taken from her, a return of the Ships carried away from Toulon and payment for those which were there destroyed, an alteration in the English

Navigation Act and a renunciation of the Use of the Title of King of France.

For Spain, a Restoration of the Places conquered, together with Gibraltar, and for Holland, a Restoration of all the Places conquered, the return of the Ships of War, and Compensation for the Ships and Merchandize stopped and brought into the English Ports, before the declaration of war between England and Holland. To these England will not agree.

Portugal has been counted among the Enemies of France ; but if the late Treaty shall be ratified, she will probably be treated as the enemy of England. It is said with considerable confidence that d'Aranjo, the Portuguese Minister had no power to *conclude* a treaty ; and England hopes to defeat it, by preventing its confirmation. The same thing was said concerning the Treaty with Spain, concluded by d'Yriarte at Basle, on which occasion the Prince of Peace, even after the date of the Signature of the Treaty told Lord Bute not only that d'Yriarte had no power to conclude a Treaty, but that Spain, with her accustomed Fidelity, would adhere to England in the prosecution of the War. The fact is said to have been, that both the Queen and the Prince of Peace were ignorant that a certain influence had prevailed on the King to give a private instruction and authority to d'Yriarte, in consequence of which the Treaty was concluded and afterwards ratified. Whatever the fact may be respecting the power of d'Aranjo, there is not much doubt respecting the ratification of this Treaty. The articles are not yet public, but they are supposed to be favorable to France and repugnant to the Treaties with England, and among other Stipulations it is believed that Portugal has consented to the Cession of a portion of her possessions in America ; but to what extent, I am not informed. If Spain should take the alarm, which she reasonably may do, from the neighborhood of the French to her Colonies, it is possible that she will, to a certain extent, countenance Portugal in refusing her Ratification ; but the predominant influence of France destroys in a great measure the probability of an efficient interference from this Quarter.

Besides Portugal is a minor, and against France and Spain, a defenceless Power, and in common with almost every Nation in Europe, is deeply embarrassed in her pecuniary affairs : indeed there seems to be everywhere those symptoms of Derangement,

which may be expected to precede a general Bankruptcy of Europe. At Rome, at Genoa and at Venice, private as well as public Credit is annihilated ; in Spain, as on former occasions, the Government has been obliged to have recourse to the fraudulent and ruinous System of Paper Money which has likewise been lately adopted by Portugal, and failed in the attempt to obtain a Loan of half a Million Sterling in London, tho' she offered to pledge Diamonds to the full amount and to mortgage in addition the Revenue of the Tobacco Farm. In Holland, and in Germany there is no public and a very limited private Credit, and all Parties agree in the Confusion and insufficiency of the French Finances. With the exception perhaps of this Country, whose fate is beyond my view, but on whose security we ought not to depend, there is no where that safety for Property and that security for Individuals that our Country at present affords.

To preserve these Blessings will demand all our efforts and we must be prepared to meet and to resist the Storm which lays waste the old world and threatens to extend to the New.

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c., &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, 5 Sept., 1797.

DEAR SIR :

Mr. Williams, our Consul at Hamburgh, informs me that the Imperial Minister has notified to him that the Emperor had consented to the release of General La Fayette upon condition that he should embark for America within eight days after his arrival at Hamburgh ; he also requested Mr. Williams to make the necessary preparations for this embarkation. Mr. Williams answered that he had no instructions to take any measures on this Subject, but that he had no hesitation to engage (and he accordingly did so in concert with one or two other Americans) to make the advances which may be required to provide a ship and other accommodations for the passage of General La Fayette and his family to America. Conceiving that it would be more agreeable both to the President and to the General that the Supplies which may be necessary on this occasion should be furnished by the public instead of Individuals, I wrote to Mr. Williams a letter recom-

mending to him to make such advances to General La Fayette as his occasions might require, and to draw upon me for their reimbursement. This arrangement corresponds with one that I had before made with Mr. Cadignan, one of the General's aids, who went a few days past to Hamburg in expectation of meeting him at that place. I do not consider it certain that General La Fayette will go to Hamburg or embark immediately for America, having understood that he will be allowed by the Emperor to go to Holland where (if permitted by the Dutch Government) he may perhaps be inclined to wait some time in order to ascertain whether he will be allowed to return to France.

. . . Paris is not a Commercial Station, or a place at which commercial questions can ordinarily arise, but where they may nevertheless exist by reference from the Sea Ports : yet we have always had a Consul General at Paris, who has had a superintendence over our Consuls in that Nation, and at present the office is particularly important to us. London is the centre of our extensive commercial operations with this Country, and it is likewise essentially connected in our commercial intercourse with the South, as well as with the North of Europe. Still we never have had a Consul General at London. The duties have been exercised by me since my residence here ; but I do assure you that the perpetual details, in which I am thereby engaged, consume much of my time and attention which perhaps might be more advantageously employed. Most of our Consuls in this Country are British Subjects : they are certainly worthy characters ; but I have, I confess, a decided preference of the employment of our own people, where they can be induced to serve ; and in respect to the office of Consul General, a consul for London, I think you will agree with me, that he should be an American Citizen. I take the liberty of making this latter observation from a knowledge that several Foreigners are desirous of obtaining this appointment.

. . . The Paris accounts exhibit no proofs of reconciliation between the Directory and the Consuls ; the breach now appears greater than it has been ; both sides are courting the Armies, who, having at present no foreign enemy to employ them, are engaged in considering the internal affairs of the country. This is a state of things that will not surprize you and is moreover one that must be productive of further and still more important Events in

Europe. The Armies may take different sides and after a bloody civil war, the Conqueror may establish such a government as will best maintain his authority.

There is great suspicion concerning the views of Buonaparte; the deference with which he is treated by the Directory is commonly ascribed to his supposed Devotion to their views; while others think he is too powerful to be treated in the customary stile, and that both England and Austria would aid him, if requisite, in the consolidation of the Italian States under one Government to be hereditary in his family. . . .

The Malcontents of Ireland have been overawed, and that country is at present quiet; but Scotland is at this moment in a state of great fermentation, in consequence of a late determination of the Government to embody 6000 militia in that Country. The People in several counties have resisted the execution of this measure and blood has already been shed in the Controversy: the Consequence will be that large Bodies of troops will be sent to Scotland, and the Peasantry will be forced to submit.

With Great Respect & Esteem, &c., &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

DEAR SIR :

LONDON, Sept. 5, 1797.

I have had the honor to receive your Letter of the 15th of June; and having a few minutes before the Mail for New York is dispatched, I employ them in sending you inclosed the copy of a Letter that I received a few days past from our Consul at Ham-burgh, which announces the approaching release of General La Fayette.\*

\* The event recorded above is the release of La Fayette from the cruel imprisonment in the dungeon at Olmutz, to which he had been consigned by the Austrian Government for four years. He had been in 1789, a member of the Assembly of France and Commander-in-chief of the National Guard, and, distrustful of the policy of the Jacobins, had sought to screen the King from their attempts to coerce him. Having been promoted to the chief command of a portion of the Army on the Prussian frontier, upon the declaration of the war with Austria, he still watched over the welfare of the King and wrote to the Assembly a letter denouncing the acts of the Jacobins, and even went to Paris to endeavor to defend himself in the course he had taken. He found that he was too late to counteract their designs, returned to the army, and after the im-

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Knowing the friendship that you have uniformly had for him, and recollecting likewise that his Son is with you, I could not refuse myself the pleasure of making to you this communication.

With perfect consideration & Respect &c. &c.,

RUFUS KING.

S. WILLIAMS TO R. KING.

HAMBURGH, 8 Sept., 1797.

SIR :

. . . I shall comply with your advice in advancing the supplies that General La Fayette may want. He may not want any, for Madame La Fayette holds her estates in France, worth *two millions*. . . .

With great consideration & regard &c.,

S. WILLIAMS.

prisonment of the King, finding himself suspected, his command taken from him, and his impeachment ordered, he fled into Belgium, where he was captured, confined by the Prussians, who offered him freedom on the condition, which he refused, that he would fight against his country. He was then handed over to Austria, which sent him to the dungeon at Olmutz. From this he was at one time set free by the enterprise and boldness of a young German, Dr. Bollman and Mr. F. K. Huger of S. Carolina, but being recaptured was again placed in prison, where his wife and daughter were permitted to join him in 1795. At this time G. Washington La Fayette, with his tutor, Mr. Trestel, left France, with the privity of some of the Committee of Safety, and arrived at New York, where he was received by Genl. Hamilton, who informed Washington of their arrival and advised, on Washington's suggestion, that the latter should at first communicate with them only by letter. This was done, but after some months they were received by Washington in person, and urged him to suggest some method by which La Fayette might be released from captivity. His opinion was that the return of peace alone would cause him to be set free, but intimated to them that perhaps a *private* letter addressed to the Emperor of Austria from him, communicating his own hope and that of the people of America, to be sent through Mr. Pinckney, the Minister of London, after consultation with the other diplomats there, might bring about the liberation, on condition of his coming to America. The letter was written and sent.\* What effect it had in mitigating the severity of his imprisonment is not known. But what other means, the sympathy in England and the United States, had failed to do, was finally brought about by the victorious march of Bonaparte, on the 23d of September, 1797. The young men were still in America, when Mr. King's letter reached there, and though against the advice of Washington, they returned immediately to Europe to join the General on his liberation from captivity.

\* Marshall's *Life of Washington*, v., 669.

## R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.\*

LONDON, September 9, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

We hear this day accounts from Paris, which, though very important and interesting, are not unexpected. The breach between the Councils and the Directory has for some time destroyed all prospect of a reconciliation between them, and either an organized civil war, in consequence of the different sides adopted by the several armies, or a measure like that which has happened, had become inevitable. The march of a considerable division of the army into the interior, the removals of generals in whom they did not confide, the various messages in the style of manifestoes addressed to the Councils, and the sending for General Jourdan who commanded the Army of the Rhine, to Paris, and putting his army in the interim of his absence under Hoche, are now explained.

Augereau, who had been called from Italy for the purpose, upon the alarm-cannon being fired on the morning of the 4th instant, marched his troops, and surrounded, without opposition, the place of sitting of the Council of 500. He then proceeded to arrest Pichegru, and a considerable number of the most influential members of that Council, on the charge of a royalist conspiracy; having for its object the massacre of three of the Directory, to make way for successors who would place Louis XVIII on the throne of France. Carnot, say the same advices, has fled and Barthelemy, say others, is also arrested. I do not give you this account as authentic, though I have little doubt it is so, as far, at least, as it states an attack of the Directory upon the Council of 500.

If the consequence of this proceeding was confined to France it would be less the subject of regret, though all must deplore the sanguinary scenes so frequently there exhibited; but, in reference to the pending negotiations and the return of peace, this transaction is very important. The two Councils, who, in this respect, are supposed to here faithfully represent their constituents, desired peace with sincerity; the Directory most certainly differed from them in their inclinations on this subject. If the Directory

\* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 265.

overwhelm the Councils, the war must, and will, continue. But how will the armies—how will the nations conduct on this occasion? I fear there is little consolation to the friends of humanity from the doubt, which for a moment exists on these points—the nations are nothing, the armies are most probably secured, and the Directory will triumph. Adieu.

Yours, &c.,

P. S. If I do not forget names, a majority of the Committee to whom Pastoret's speech on our affairs was referred, are among the members now arrested. You will readily see how mischievous to us this success of the Directory may and probably will be.

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JOHN LAWRENCE TO R. KING.

NEWPORT, Sept. 19, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . We are waiting with much anxiety to hear the result of the Negotiation at Lisle. Much (probably) depends on it as to us. We are sincere in our wishes for Peace, and in our endeavors to preserve it. A nation, so much disposed to amity, ought not to have their tranquillity disturbed. Ours has been too much so, but still not so much as it may be; should an Event, so unfortunate, take place, I hope we shall exhibit a conduct which will not disgrace us. . . .

Yr. affectionate humble Servt.,

JOHN LAWRENCE.

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C. CADIGNAN TO R. KING.

HAMBRO', 19 Sept., 1797.

SIR :

I have delayed to write to you since my arrival here in hopes that I should have soon some good news of our friend to relate to you. This day is at last come. Mr. William has acquainted your excellency of the last business between the minister of the emperor and Mr. Parish here; since that we have been without news; but yesterday M. Le B.<sup>ron</sup> de Buol, minister of the emperor here, wrote a note to Mr. Masson to let him know that he had just received *the official note* from his Cabinet that the order

had been sent from Vienna to Olmutz to liberate the prisoner directly ; so we expect them here now every moment and will have the honour to inform your excellency of their arrival and mention then the offer you have made to me for our friend Laf. who certainly will be very grateful of the interest you have always shown for his unfortunate fate.

Mr. William will certainly write to you by this post, so I have nothing more to tell. Pray present my respects to Mrs. King. I remain

Of your Excellency Most obedient Servant,  
C. CADIGNAN.

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S. WILLIAMS TO R. KING.

HAMBURG, 3 Oct., 1797.

SIR :

I shall have the happiness of receiving General Lefayette to morrow. He will arrive tonight with his family and companions at Harburg on the opposite bank of the Elbe, and on passing it tomorrow he will be saluted by an American ship—which with the others in the Port, will show him every mark of attention by displaying their colours, &c. We shall endeavour to do everything that will be agreeable to him and to every American.

They are all, excepting Madame La Fayette and one of her Daughters, in pretty good health. If the state of theirs do not prevent, the General and family may embark in Mr. Joy's ship for Philadelphia.

With perfect consideration, &c.,  
S. WILLIAMS.

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S. WILLIAMS TO R. KING.

HAMBURG, 5 Oct., 1797.

SIR :

General Lefayette, his Lady and two Daughters, his two companions, and their families arrived here yesterday. Mr. Joy sent the ship John's barge for them in the morning—on their way they stopped to partake of a collation on the ship, and then met Mr. Cadignan and other friends, then landed and proceeded to my house.

I find their health to be as I have mentioned. The General retains all his affection and respect for the United States. The season is now so far advanced, that it is not probable they will embark for America this fall. They all go tomorrow to lodgings about ten miles from the city, where they may pass the winter without molestation. It appears that the Emperor will not meddle with them again. . . .

With perfect respect, &c.,

S. WILLIAMS.

C. CADIGNAN TO R. KING.

HAMBRO, 13 Octob'r. 1797.

SIR :

Mr. Williams having informed you of the arrival here of M. Lafayette with his family, I shall only mention to your Excellency that he has accepted with gratitude the offer you charge me to make to him, which Mr. Williams has confirmed, and that he has to write to you about it. He has set off for the Holstein where he expects to stay till the weather permits him to embark for America, Mrs. Lafayette being very much indisposed. I did expect to have a letter tonight for you, but the danish post arrives only tomorrow ; so very likely I shall be able to forward it to you next post.

Now, Sir, I must trouble you again for me. I am going to set off from here for england to meet again my little family and my business, in few days by a neutral vessel for gravesend, from what place I embarked in august last ; would you be so good to send a note to his grace Duke of portland to desire him to send an order to gravesend to let me get in as soon as I arrive there, as you had the goodness to do last april when I was at yarmouth.

I am with respect your Excelency your most obedient

C. CADIGNAN.

Citizen of America.

P.S. . . . They assure here the american plenipotentiaries arrived in france ; I hope they will be able to succeed notwithstanding the *encore* new revolution in that country. All the german papers of to-day say that the hostilities were to begin again in Italy the 8 of this month, and Buonoparte is reported very ill by the paris papers of the 4th.

## LAFAYETTE TO R. KING.

WILTMOLD NEAR PLÖEN IN HOLSTEIN, October the 13th, 1797.

HIS EXCELLENCY MR. KING, ESQ. PLINIPOTENTIARY MINISTER  
FROM THE UNITED STATES AT THE COURT OF LONDON.

MY DEAR SIR :

While I am happy in this Opportunity to offer you my affectionate thanks for the kind and friendly interest which you have been pleased to take in my behalf, I am sure your good heart will enjoy the account I am now able to give you that my family, my two friends and myself are totally out of the Coalitionary fangs. You know what have been for five years the applications from the American Government, the exertions of American Representatives abroad, and who, more than you, my dear Sir, has a right to say, *et quorum pars magna fui*? For those obligations my heart shall ever be bound by the ties of the most lively Gratitude. You also have been acquainted with the measures taken by the French Commonwealth and her Plenipotentiaries from the Beginning of this long Negotiation with the Court of Vienna, and with the final Arrangement which has been agreed upon between the Baron de Thugue and my Aid de Camp Romeuf, whom Bonaparte and Clarke had sent to Vienna to put an end to the chicanes which for five months had deferred our being set at Liberty. In consequence of this we left Olmutz on the 19th of September and have been at Hamburgh put into American Hands, which I rejoice to see taking a part in this late Business, as they have taken so kind, early and constant part in everything that relates to my Captivity, the means to alleviate it and the applications to put an end to the long and unhealthy Confinement. It is impossible in the deplorable state of my Wife's Health even to think of a winter passage. We are going to pass this season in a retired place about sixty English miles from Hamburgh. The Healths of us all are in great need of repair: that of my Wife is by far the most injured. I need not tell you, my dear Sir, that my Restoration to Liberty has been much embittered by the unhappy news of the differences which have troubled the good Harmony so naturally subsisting between the American and French Republics. What I feel on the occasion it is superfluous to say—what I wish is obvious. But how the purpose can be effected is

the question in which my Head and my Heart are wholly, and at every minute busying themselves, not on account of the difficulties, it is more difficult indeed to set up a quarrel between the two Nations than to mend it, but on account of many circumstances, which altho' they are merely personal or foreign to the American contest, cannot fail greatly to influence the Negotiation. Are those Commissioners arrived in Paris? I think I shall by and bye, notwithstanding the late despotic measures, hear from France, but I also entreat you, as far as you think it convenient, to let me know your opinion and expectations with respect to this unfortunate and afflicting affair. Cadignan has told me what you have been pleased in the name of the United States to offer to lend to us should we want these pecuniary advances. I the more gratefully accept them as the difficulties for M<sup>d</sup>me. Lafayette to get money from France are still great, and as I have bound myself immediately to pay a sum of two hundred and fifty guineas, the secret use of it has a relation to our prison Business, which Cadignan will verbally explain. To him give me leave to refer it, as he intends soon to have the honour to wait on you, and contenting myself here to present you with my grateful and affectionate thanks, I shall only add, that with an eternal Remembrance of your kind interest in my Behalf, of which you see I take the liberty, occasionally to make use as frankly as it has been bestowed on me, and with the sentiments of the highest Regard, warm gratitude and affectionate friendship, I have the honour to be, my dear Sir,

Your obliged Servant,

LAFAYETTE.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

**Embassy of Messrs. Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry to France—Blount's Conspiracy—Dr. Romaine's connection with it—Portuguese Treaty with France—Cession of Louisiana by Spain demanded by France—French Duplicity towards America—R. King believes the People of England will continue to Support the Government—Especially since the Failure of the Negotiation at Lisle—Communication to Lord Grenville relative to the Trade to British Territories in India—French Orders against American Commerce in the West Indies.**

It is not proposed to enter into the details connected with the embassy of Messrs. Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry to France ; but it may be well to state the fact, illustrated by the following correspondence, which extends over many pages, that it was an endeavor, on the part of the United States, to settle the troubles with France which had now reached a point which involved an entire cessation of friendly intercourse. Mr. Adams, the President, contrary to the advice of his political supporters, decided to try an experiment, which he deemed wise, of sending three commissioners to Paris, and through their efforts to bring about a solution of the questions pending between the two countries. As it is well known the mission failed in its objects, and M. Talleyrand, after a formal reception of the American Commissioners, endeavored to bring about by corrupt means a settlement which he was unwilling to make by an open and honest discussion of the questions at issue. The basis of this plan was that the United States should apologize for all the matters complained of by the French, including the treatment of the French Vessels of war and privateers during the residence of Genet and afterwards, and especially the alleged

grievances consequent upon the treaty with Great Britain ; should also make a loan to France, either immediate or prospective, and give a considerable sum in cash to be disposed of by M. Talleyrand for his own and the Directory's use. The correspondence shows the manner in which these propositions were received and indignantly rejected by the American Ministers, and the universal outcry in America against France, when the President, upon the call of Congress, laid before them the papers relative to the failure of the mission.

In a letter of Mr. King to the Secretary of State, December 23, 1797, will be found a statement made by the Directory, through M. Talleyrand, for a proposed peace with England, which will be found interesting in this connection.

R. KING TO GENL. PINCKNEY.

LONDON, Oct. 17, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I do not even yet permit myself to despair of the success of your mission, tho' anxious as I feel on that subject, it would be a very high gratification to learn from any circumstance that has occurred since your arrival at Paris that your *hopes* are somewhat increased. . . .

The NewsPapers contain a correspondence between the Secy of State and Mr. Monroe, on the refusal of the Demands of the latter that the Reasons wh. induced his Recall should be assigned for the Purpose of a public Discussion.

Tho' in some small particulars I am not partial to *Mr. G.* [erry] still I am thoroughly convinced of his Integrity, *Patriotism* and Honor : entire confidence in which serves to *extenuate those subordinate Defects to bear with* and to *get over which* require only *patience and a little management.* I however know nothing concerning *him* for the last *four years*, which have wrought great changes in America as well as elsewhere. I speak of *him as of former times.* You will be satisfied with *Genl. Marshall ; his*

\* Italics in cipher.

character stands well on all points. Personally I know little of *him*, but *his* head is one of the best organized of any one that I have known. This I say from general Reputation, and more satisfactorily from an Argument that I heard him deliver before the fedl. Court at Philadelphia. . . .

Yr. faithful Servt.,

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON 17, October, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

The violation of the constitution in the triumph of the three Directors over their Colleagues and the Majority of the two Councils, was an event neither surprising nor unexpected. The termination of the negotiation at Lisle was a natural consequence of this revolution ; and it is quite probable that the conferences at Udina have likewise been broken off, on which event, advanced as the season is, the Armies of France will be put in March for Vienna.

Mess. Marshall and Gerry have both arrived in Holland about the middle of September, on the last of which month, in company with General Pinckney, they reached Paris, and according to the French papers (for I have received no letter from them since they arrived at Paris) they have had an interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I make no conjecture concerning the result of this mission ; you know what have been the sentiments and conduct of the Directory, and you also understand what were the opinions as well as what probably would have been the Decisions of those in the two Councils, who have been driven from their offices ; the Legislature is now completely subservient to the Directory.

The total Defeat, accompanied with the capture of the greater part of the Dutch Fleet by the English Squadron under Admiral Duncan on the Eleventh of this month, may have some influence in lowering the tone of the Directory ; but whether that or any other consideration will induce them to consent to arrangements with us, without which an open rupture appears inevitable, remains to be seen. I wish that I could discover any circumstance

that would allow me to expect with some degree of Confidence that we shall be able to avoid a War.

. . . General La Fayette has been released and with his family are at Hamburgh, where according to a letter I have from Mr. Williams, they will probably remain till the Spring. It is more than probable that I may be called on for money from this quarter, I shall not hesitate to supply it, within certain limits, in the belief that my doing so will under all circumstances receive the President's approbation. . . .

With perfect Consideration & Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE, NO. 51.

LONDON, 31st Oct., 1797.

DEAR SIR :

In my number 45., I gave you some reason to expect that I might be able to obtain the possession of Chisholm's Papers. I believe that he is still here and in confinement ; but I have not succeeded in obtaining his Papers. Doctor Romaine was in this Country at the time of my arrival here ; I saw him several times, but knew nothing concerning his business, except that it was said he was an agent for the Sale of New Lands. Since receiving the information that he was supposed to be connected with Blount, I have endeavoured to trace his connections while last in England. From a person who in some measure possessed Romaine's Confidence, I am assured that he was introduced by the Count de Moustier (formerly the French Minister with us and with whom I remember that Romaine was in great intimacy) to the Marquis Las Casas, then the Spanish Minister at this Court, with whom Romaine had frequent conferences on the subject of "certain Lands belonging to Spain in the Western part of America." Romaine proposed to engage Las Casas in his project which was represented as promising immense Profit to the Adventurers ; Las Casas was to support the Scheme at Madrid, and by his influence procure the King's sanction. De Yrujo who, as I am informed was privy to these conferences, and who was soon going to America, was to act as Las Casas' Agent in that Country. What was finally arranged or concluded,

I have not been able to learn. Perhaps Blount's conspiracy may be connected with, and a part of, the Plan discussed by Romaine and Las Casas; and Romaine may have been the Agent of Blount and his Associates.

It would be extraordinary (did any event in these times merit that character) should there exist a connection between Blount's conspiracy, against which De Yrujo so rudely complained and the project between Romaine and Las Casas, the execution of which is said to have been confided to the Chevalier!

Romaine has been in correspondence with several People in this Country since his return; but the notoriety of his implication in the conspiracy of Blount, makes it difficult to discover the object of his correspondence. Chisholm could not be the man of consequence, whom Blount was to have sent to England. In a letter from Romaine to one of his Correspondents in London dated April 4, 1797, he says "There have some circumstances turned up, which I am fearful will make it necessary for me to visit England in May. I shall endeavour to avoid going but it is highly probable I shall be obliged to embark in one of the first vessels after the middle of May." And in a subsequent letter to the same person, of the 30th of April, he says "I informed you in my last that it was not improbable but you would soon see me in England; I have not yet made up my mind but it may be that I may have to leave this in a fortnight."

With perfect Respect, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE, No. 52.

*Wholly in cipher.*

LONDON, Nov. 9. 1797.

DEAR SIR :

The last letters from the British Minister in Portugal state, that de Pinto the Portuguese Minister has received a dispatch from their Envoy at Madrid, saying that his last conference with the Prince of Peace "(more diffuse and conducted with less reserve than usual) had been concluded by the Declaration of the Prince, that after mature consideration the Court of Madrid ad-

vised that of Portugal to ratify without further delay the Treaty lately concluded with France." To prove the sincerity of this advice, the Prince adverted to the critical Situation in which the Government of Spain found itself. He said that the little influence that they once had at Paris was lately, and especially since the 18th Fructidor, diminished ; that Del Campo was rarely permitted to speak to any of the Directors, and upon a representation respecting the order for the Transportation to Spain of the Remnant of the Bourbons, in which he took occasion to say that their presence would be disagreeable to the Court of Spain, he was contemptuously answered that this would not be thought an objection to the measure.

After mentioning the difficulty of the present situation, and the more unpleasant prospect of the future, the Prince added that Spain would not be able to oppose any effectual resistance to the measures that France will pursue on the refusal of Portugal to ratify the Treaty ; for although by different means she has hitherto avoided the Decision, the Directory have recently received their Demand for the Cession of Louisiana to France, "which," continued the Prince, "the Court of Spain no longer finds itself in a condition to refuse."

I received this information yesterday from Lord Grenville, of whom I sometime since requested such intelligence as he should receive on this subject.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.,

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

LONDON, Nov. 7, 1797.

DEAR GENERAL :

I have deferred the acknowledgment of your Letter in the daily expectation of receiving from our Envoys in Paris such information as would enable me to state to you the present, as well as the probable, situation of our Affairs with France ; and tho' I am without this information, and therefore unable to make you the communications I otherwise should have done, I can no longer delay offering you my sincere and hearty congratulations upon your delivery from Prison, and being again at liberty. You know

America so well, that it seems superfluous to say that this Event will inspire our Countrymen with the most lively joy, and I cannot be mistaken in assuring you, that your Reception there, as well as that of Madame LaFayette and your Daughters, whose virtues and Sufferings have equally excited our admiration and sympathy, will equal in affection and Respect your utmost wishes. I have much anxiety respecting Madame LaFayette's health and earnestly hope that it may be restored and confirmed in season for your Embarkation early in the Spring ; for I will not conceal from you, that in the present uncertain State of Europe, I shall not consider you safe, until you shall have landed upon the American shores. I expressed to Cadignan my Readiness in behalf of our country to make such pecuniary arrangements as you should find requisite ; I need not therefore add anything more on this subject, except to assure you that I am persuaded that such arrangements will receive the approbation of our Government, which has never ceased to feel an interest in whatever concerned you. I pray you, my dear General, to present my most respectful Homage to Mad. LaFayette, and to accept the Esteem and Respect of

Your ob't. and faithful Servant,

RUFUS KING.

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JOHN JAY TO R. KING.

ALBANY, Nov. 7, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

I was a few days ago fav'd with yours of the 16th Augt. last. The attention of this country continues I think *too much* fixed on the negotiations for Peace. Many are of opinion that our embarrassments will cease with the war. It may be so, but my mind is not free from doubts on that head. The prudence of preparing for the worst, is manifested by the experience of ages ; and yet we very indiscreetly neglect it. I wish we had a well compiled selection of Switzerland's state papers respecting their diplomatic discussions with belligerent powers during the present war ; and the measures they have taken for their own security.

It is an agreeable circumstance that De LaCroix's successor expresses himself in friendly Terms about american affairs ; but

I shall be mistaken if he does not *act* as may best suit him—what that may be I cannot pretend to say, nor at this distance to conjecture. France is doing us much injury, but good will ultimately result from it. We shall be taught a useful lesson, tho' perhaps at no inconsiderable expence. . . .

Yours sincerely

JOHN JAY.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. NO. 53.

LONDON, November 12, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . The Directory at the instance of Portugal are understood to have prolonged the Time for the Ratification of the Treaty with that Nation, but on the day after the definitive Treaty with Austria reached Paris, they annulled the Treaty with Portugal, assigning as a Justification that it had not been ratified within the Time first prescribed for that purpose. Portugal must therefore expect to be attacked, unless Spain (of which according to the information in my No. 52 there is no probability) shall be able to avert the Blow. The French army that shall be sent against Portugal will accelerate, if it does not accomplish, the destined Revolution of Spain.

The Congress that in a few days will meet at Rastadt, for the Pacification of Germany, will bring to light some of the secret articles, supposed to exist in the Treaties between Austria and France and between the latter and Prussia. . . .

The Chiefs of the Opposition in this Country do not attend Parliament, which manifests much firmness in the present position of the Nation, and which, in my opinion, will receive the support of their Constituents in the prosecution of the war; until their enemy shall discover a disposition to end it. The late Naval Victory and the Dismantling of the French men of war at Brest, have in a considerable degree quieted the apprehension of invasion, notwithstanding a late Arrêté of the Directory to assemble an army on the Coast of the Ocean, to be commanded by Buonaparte, and called "the Army of England."

I employed a few weeks of the Autumn in travelling through the interior, including some of the Manufacturing Towns of this

Country ; and tho' my means of making a correct Judgment were in many respects imperfect, I endeavoured to form an Estimate of the Public Opinion on the Subject of the war, which for a long time past, I have thought, could not soon be concluded. The result of my observations, is that a general desire of Peace prevails throughout the Nation, but that an opinion exists which is nearly, if not quite, as general, that this Government has sought Peace with sincerity, and that France has not been willing to make it on terms consistent with the safety and independence of England : hence I infer that the Nation, but without zeal or Enthusiasm, for they shew neither, will support the Government in carrying on the War, and that they will give this support in the Belief, that without it the Nation must sink beneath the Blows of their Enemy. God grant that a less passive temper may be displayed in our Country, should unhappily the pending negotiation fail to restore harmony between us and France.

I send you herewith . . . a long Essay, taken from the *Redacteur* of the 19th of October, concerning the causes of the misunderstanding between us and France. This is supposed to be the performance of Thomas Paine, who has lately published a *Justification*, as he calls it, of the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, since which epoch the Press has been put under the control of the Government ; a circumstance that gives some importance to this absurd disquisition respecting the misunderstanding between us and France. . . .

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

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RUFUS KING TO COL. PICKERING.

*Personal and Private.*

LONDON Nov. 13, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Pray send me a Consul to reside in London. As I do not decline any service that I can perform, I am in constant requisition to supply those Consular certificates of various sorts, which it has been usual to procure from Mr. Johnson. . . .

Very truly &c.

RUFUS KING.

## JOHN JAY TO R. KING.

ALBANY, 14 Nov., 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . A late arrival has brought intelligence of the Explosion at Paris. It opens a wide Field for Speculation and conjecture. It is difficult for a demoralized People to have any stable Government; human laws can reach only a small portion of human actions. I am anxious to know how our Comrs. have been received. To me it does not appear certain that the new Revolution will injure us; but the cloud is too thick to be penetrated. It seems that France is to be purified by fire; if so, she is not yet ready to leave the furnace. We hear that Ld. Malmesbury has returned to England; and yet I should not be surprised, if something like a Peace should be patched up this winter between France and *Austria*. I suspect the Emperor's Resources to be exhausted so much that it will not be in his power to provide for the Expences of *such* a campaign next year, as would become his Dignity & Interest—but this is all Guess-work. . . .

Yours sincerely,

JOHN JAY.

RUFUS KING TO MESS. PINCKNEY, MARSHALL, AND GERRY.

*All in cipher.*

LONDON, 15th, Nov., 1797.

GENTLEMEN :

. . . Though my expectations of a satisfactory issue of your Mission was materially weakened by the Revolution of the fourth of September, yet I must confess that I was not prepared for the accounts which Col. Trumbull has given me. I will not however allow myself yet to despair of your success, though my apprehensions are greater than my hopes. I annex the Copy of my No. 52 to the Secretary of State. . . . It may be considered as a communication of considerable importance in enabling you to judge of the views of the French Government. The Envoy of Portugal confirmed to me to-day this information so far as regards the demand which, he said, had been made in the

shape of a Note, and not, as heretofore, verbally. He knew nothing of the answer that was given by the Minister of Spain. I likewise send you the copy of a Letter that some months past I wrote to Mr. Talleyrand, to which I received no answer. . . . Slight circumstances sometimes assist us in the discovery of important decisions. . . .

The failure of the Negotiation at Lisle has undoubtedly added strength to this Government. The two Houses of Parliament made a joint and *unanimous* address to the King, in reply to his Speech, pledging the wealth and Strength of the Nation, in language of uncommon solemnity and force, to support the Crown in the prosecution of the War against an Enemy, whose enmity, says the address, is directed against their Laws, Religion and Liberty.

What another Revolution in France may effect; nay to what the Corruption of those who are now in Power may lead them to agree, it is not easy to pronounce; but here, there is every appearance of a firm and steady perseverance in the war.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 54.

LONDON, Nov. 18, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

"Si tout se vend rien ne se garantit." *The fate of the late Treaty between France and Portugal would confirm this Truth, was it doubtful. Portugal was also required to pay down a sum of money to be distributed as a preliminary to Negotiation and she advanced it. By a secret article of the Treaty she was bound to make a loan to France, a part of which was paid at the Signature of the Treaty and was the money that enabled the Directory to march the Army which effected the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor. You may depend on this information.\* . . .*

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

\* Italics in cipher.

## R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, NOV. 20, 1797.

MY LORD :

Your Lordship may probably recollect that after the Ratification of the American Treaty, but before the Act of Parliament for carrying it into effect, I took the Liberty to mention to your Lordship the Circumstances of an Insurance Cause in one of his Majesty's Courts, in which the Plaintiff, an American Citizen, had been non-suited in consequence of an opinion of the Court, that the Trade to the British Territories in Asia could not be carried on by Foreigners. Since the Act of Parliament, a new trial of the cause has been ordered, and the suit is about to be decided by the construction that shall be given in Westminster Hall to the XIII. Article of the Treaty.

This question is of importance not only in respect to the Property immediately depending upon its decision, but far more so as it affects those voyages and commercial adventures which have been commenced under the Security of this article of the Treaty ; according to which, in the opinion of the American Government, it is free for their citizens to import in American Ships into the British Territories in the East Indies, any goods or Merchandize that may be imported into the same by the East India Company, paying the same duties as are paid by that Company and this without being subject to inquiry or Disadvantage in respect to the Country of which such Goods or Merchandize are the produce or manufacture, or whether they come directly from America, or are shipped in Europe or elsewhere.

Had there been any Doubt of this interpretation, it would have been removed by the discussion that grew out of the restrictive clauses which the East India Company were desirous should have been added to the Act of Parliament, establishing the Provisions of the American Treaty, and to the Act concerning the Trade to the East Indies by nations in Amity with Great Britain. But notwithstanding my persuasion that the Parties do not disagree in the interpretation of this article of the Treaty, I am not without apprehension that an erroneous Construction may be attempted, and perhaps successfully, in the course of this Trial.

Hence I have thought it to be my Duty to place the Subject

before your Lordship, and to request your influence in order that the Court of King's Bench, before whom this suit is depending, may be seasonably informed of the Construction given to this Article of the American Treaty by his Majesty's Government. . . .

Your obedient & very humble servant &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO MESSRS. PINCKNEY, MARSHALL, and GERRY.

LONDON, Nov. 24, 1797.

GENTLEMEN :

*No one detests more than I do the Conduct of France towards our\* Country still I earnestly desire that we may remain in Peace. War would retard our progress ; which with all the disadvantages to wh. we are exposed, brings daily additions of wealth and strength ; and to the œconomical and moral motives which should influence Nations to cultivate Peace, we may add the Danger to be apprehended from the Division of our People. I make these observations in order that you may justly estimate such information as with a view to the Negotiation in your Hands, I may send you ; for with all our impartiality, our Prejudices will sometimes colour not only what passes thro' our minds, but even the objects that fall beneath our senses.*

*Portugal gave money as a Preliminary to the negotiation of the late Treaty with France, by a secret article of which she also stipulated a Loan, part of which was actually paid at the Signature of the Treaty. This money enabled the Directory to march the army who effected the Revolution of the 18th. Fructidor. Spain is alarmed and Portugal trembles. England cannot furnish troops, without which Portugal must fall. The Court of Vienna have at this moment little confidence in the solidity of their Peace. This is no Task, and the war may again burst out. The Directory are not at Ease on this Point. England sees all this, and, notwithstanding the disaffected State of Ireland, is resolved with Firmness to continue the war.*

*I cannot give you my sources of information but I am not deceived.*

Yrs. &c.

RUFUS KING.

\* Italics in cipher.

## R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. NO. 55.

LONDON, Dec. 6, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

. . . *I think that I am not mistaken in my Belief, that this insecurity of Peace, and probability that the Congress of Rastadt will rekindle the war, has been formally communicated to this Court by that of Vienna, in order that measures of Concert, grounded on this expectation, should be pursued by the two nations.\**

The Directory have given orders to divide the German Territory on the left of the Rhine into Departments on the model of those of France, while by an Imperial Aulic Decree, the Emperor calls upon the Deputies of the Empire to the Congress to exert themselves with German firmness, jointly with him, to obtain a solid Peace, "on the basis of the Integrity of the Empire."

At this critical moment has happened the death of the King of Prussia ; an event capable of producing the most important consequences. Some circumstances, tho' far from being conclusive, have already appeared, which induce those who wish it, to believe that the young King will pursue a course altogether the reverse of that of his Father.

The new monarch is said to be attached to the Army, brave and emulous of the character of the Great Frederick ; he is moreover both frugal and moral, and in these Points the opposite of his Father. Events of the first magnitude follow each other with such rapidity that we shall even in a few days be able to appreciate the character of the new Sovereign.

The Directory will be active on this occasion, unless, as is rumoured, they are embarrassed by a new Party at Paris that is forming itself against them. We are not yet able to discern the shape of this Faction, nor to distinguish the peculiar means with which it will act. But it is as certain that things must change, and that soon, as they have recently become what they are.

On the 26th ulto. our Envoys had not been received by the Directory, nor had they advanced a step since their dispatch by Col. Trumbull : except that on the 11th. they had by a Note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs requested that the Government would, without further delay, take the Subject of their Mission into consideration, and ten days after, not having received any answer, they sent Major Rutledge to inquire whether their request

\* Italics in cipher.

had been communicated to the Directory, who was informed that it had, and that the result would shortly be made known to the Envoys. In the mean time the animosity of the French Government against our Country increases and the condemnation of our Ships and Cargoes is pursued with eagerness and rapacity. A Proclamation by the Directory of the 22d of November, which holds up the Government of England as a Conspiracy against French Liberty and charges it as influencing and corrupting every other nation, has this expression, "Parlez Americains, dites quels sont directement ou indirectement vos vrais dominateurs." . . .

Nothing material since my last has occurred in this country. The proposal of raising seven millions additional Revenue by tripling the direct assessments will be carried into execution. In the present State of England, we may find both admonition and Instruction. If we should be forced into the war in defence of our Property and Government, I hope that we may Profit by seasonable reflections upon the dangers to the State from too great an accumulation of public Debt. This country is now said to have arrived near to the Limits of the funding system, and with all its burden, bearing upon them, they are compelled to go back to the old Scheme of raising within the year their annual Expences. We shall not be able to borrow in Europe, and instead of borrowing at Home except for mere anticipations, why should we not, in a war of strict necessity, raise within the year the money to defray our Expenses? I still entertain a faint hope that we shall escape the war; the present State of things must soon change, and any change will mend our situation and Prospects.

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c.

RUFUS KING.

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R. KING TO GENERAL PINCKNEY, GENERAL MARSHALL, AND  
MR. GERRY.\*

*Confidential.*

LONDON, Dec. 9, 1797.

GENTLEMEN :

Lord Grenville last night sent Mr. Hammond to me with the following information that had just been received by this Government.

\* In cipher.

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“Coast of France November 26, 1797. The Minister of Marine Pleville Lepeley has recommended to the Marine officers at Granville, St. Maloes, to throw every secret impediment, without open force, to delay the Departure of American vessels, and the exportation of American property which they daily expected orders to sequester.”

Mr. Hammond said that he was ordered to declare that the information was authentic, and such as they should act upon in a case that concerned them. You will judge whether you can give notice to our People to withdraw their property.

With great truth yours &c.

RUFUS KING.

## CHAPTER XIX.

**Mr. Hindman on Maryland Politics—Mr. King and Maryland Bank Stock—Judge Cambauld in St. Domingo—Genl. Washington relative to Lafayette's Son—Count Rumford—Chisholme, Agent of Governor Blount in London—Statement of Facts made—Correspondence with Commissioners in Paris—Directory propose Peace to England—Declined—Mr. King to the Commissioners—The United States must act with Decision—Fear of Mr. Gerry in Letter to General Pinckney—Letter to Mr. Gerry—From General Pinckney—No Hope of a Treaty with France.**

WM. HINDMAN TO WM. HENSLEY, JR., LONDON.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 3, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

Inclosed is a Copy of a Letter I received from Mr. King . . . I presume that you are happily fixed as Mr. King's Secretary, so that your accompanying Mrs. Tilghmam to England has proved a most lucky circumstance, as She was thereby fortunately relieved from a great Weight upon her mind. You will arrive in London most seasonably to take upon you the Duties of your Office.

Mr. Henry is elected our Governor ; it is not yet known here who will succeed Him in the Senate ; from what I collect the Contest will probably terminate between Messrs. Joshua Seney and Wm. Winder, the first a decided Jacobin, the other a doubtful Character. It is truly lamentable that We should be driven to this Dilemma. It is said there is a Majority of Antis in our House of Delegates. Tom Martin was chosen by a great Majority. Mr. Josh. Seney has declared Himself a Candidate for the House of Representatives of Congress at the next Election.

There was no opposition to the Answer to the President's Speech. What the Plan of the Antis is this Session, I have not

heard. Messrs. Jefferson and Giles are not yet come ; I suppose nothing decisive will be fixed upon untill their Arrival. Our Speaker has given up the French since their last Revolution.

Congress can do nothing decisive untill They hear from our Commissioners at Paris ; should our Differences not be accommodated, I flatter myself We shall be more united than We have hitherto been ; there will however be a Party in Favor of the French let their Conduct towards Us be what it may.

I have lately received a Letter from Mr. Perry, who is now attending our Legislature ; in which is the following, " Mr. King has truly rendered the State of Maryland vast Service respecting our Bank Stock in England. He has now got it in a very good Way for our laying our Hands upon it. He has really taken great Pains in examining into this Business, and has by a single Letter given Us a much clearer View of the whole Business than we have been able to obtain from Mr. Chase from his first Commencement of the Business. Mr. King has rendered Himself very popular with us." This Information was doubly gratifying to me.

Mr. Edwd. Lloyd was married to Miss Murray on the 30th ulto. and is to settle at Wye. You have no Doubt heard that your Father is on the Eve of Matrimony. The Hessian Fly has increased twofold upon Us this Fall. Pray present me to Mr. King in Terms of the most affectionate Regard ; tell Him I feel in the most grateful Manner his friendly attentions to me. Mr. Sitgreaves and Myself are alone at Mrs. Williams, and eat when at Home of the excellent Cheese which Mr. King was so kind as to send Her. I shall be happy to hear from you.

Yrs Sincerely &c.

W. HINDMAN.

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T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Dec. 5, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Another grievance which has for some time past excited much complaint, is the proceeding of the Judge of the Court of Vice-admiralty in St. Domingo. This Court was erected by Governor Simcoe, who appointed a Mr. Richard Cambauld